FBIS DAILY REPORT

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POLISH ENVOY SPEAKS AT UN DISARMAMENT DEBATE

LD192337 Warsaw PAP in English 1417 GMT 17 Feb 83

[By PAP correspondent Edward Dylawerski]

[Text] Geneva 17 Feb -- Polish representative, minister-counsellor at Poland's permanent mission at the Geneva U.N. Bureau, Jerzy Zawalonka, took the floor at the general debate held at the U.N. Disarmament Committee with the participation of forty states.

Poland is most vitally interested in reaching a concrete disarmament accord, he said. We are aware that if the Pershing and the cruise missiles are deployed in Western Europe, some of them will be assigned to destroy our country.

The Polish representative also said that one of the committee's most urgent tasks was to negotiate a treaty totally banning the nuclear arms tests.

In discussing the agenda of the committee's debates, representatives of non-aligned and socialist countries demand the inclusion of a new item on the prevention of nuclear war. In view of the fact that the committee works on the principle of unanimity, so far it has not been possible to end discussion on this subject because of the opposition of Western delegates.

CSSR ENVOY TO UN GENEVA TALKS ATTACKS U.S. LINE

LD182350 Prague CTK in English 1347 GMT 18 Feb 83

[Text] Geneva (CETEKA correspondent) -- The U.S. Administration has done nothing to prove that its declared readiness to reach agreement is meant seriously Ambassador Milos Vejvoda, Czechoslovakia's standing representative in the U.N. office here, has told CETEKA.

He recalled that U.S. Vice-President George Bush had said in the Disarmament Committee that the U.S. has the moral right to demand the destruction of all nuclear weapons on earth but he did not mention U.S. nuclear weapons in the air and on the sea, thus only confirming that the U.S. aims at nothing but achieving military supremacy.

Asked about the prospects for this year's Disarmament Committee session, Milos Vejvoda said that the aggressive line of the U.S. Administration is clearly seen at talks on priority issues, which include today all that is connected with the effort to avert war and reach nuclear disarmament. Great attention is being paid to the question of a general and complete ban on nuclear tests. Efforts to achieve an agreement are blocked by the U.S. delegation which is ready to discuss only aspects of control which have long been settled, Ambassador Vejvoda said.

He went on to say that a similar situation arose at talks on a ban and liquidation of chemical weapons. While the U.S. delegation submits here unjustified demands in the sphere of control, preparations to start production of binary chemical weapons continue in the United States.

He stressed that the new wave of the peace movement in the world could positively influence the Geneva disarmament talks, and voiced the conviction that the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, to meet in Prague in June, will play an important part in asserting the policy of peace and the disarmament proposals of the socialist countries.

ATA CONDEMNS PRISTINA TRIALS OF ALBANIANS

AU201520 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 20 Feb 83

["Juridical Terror Against the Albanians in Kosovo -- 28 Albanians Are Sentenced With Heavy Imprisonment Up to 14 Years Because They Demanded "Kosovo - Republic" -- ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, February 20 (ATA) -- As the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG reports, the court of the Pristina District sentenced these days 23 Albanians with heavy imprisonment, which goes up to 14 years.

According to the organizers of the trial, the accused have allegedly been members of the organisation of "The Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of the Albanians in Yugoslavia" and that they with their activity and propaganda have aimed at "overthrowing the social order in the SFRY", "at destroying unity-fraternity, equality of nations and nationalities", "at changing the constitutional order" and other such inventions of the like. The Belgrade authorities use such already stale formula at the courts against the Albanians to justify their savage Great-Serb chauvinism, the Titoite oppression and brutality which for years are raging in Kosovo.

The court which continued 8 days in Pristina was a groundless farce hatched up by the Yugoslav revisionists. The accused, as it came out at the court, stated that there were not they who had formed the party and that they knew nothing who had formed it, but they admitted that they had read materials of the organisation, which were found also in many houses of the members of the League of the Communists and that the main question in these materials was the demand of the people that the status of the republic should be given to Kosovo and that the Albanians should be recognized as a nation.

At the court, the accused said that the demand of the people "Kosovo -- republic" had been made legally and on the basis of the Constitution. Likewise the court showed that the demonstrations in Kosovo were neither unknown nor unexpected for the Yugoslav leadership. It was said at the court that the above mentioned organisation has time and again informed and has put forth legal demands to the highest forums of the region and the federation.

The admissions by the accused proved that the demands of granting the status of the republic to Kosovo, that equal rights should be recognized to the Albanians in Yugoslavia with the other nations and nationalities and that an end should be put to the intolerable backwardness of Kosovo, had become publicly and within the Constitution. They had been forwarded earlier that the demonstrations of spring 1981 take place, since the time when Tito was alive. [sentence as received] This shows that the Yugoslav authorities were not taken aback.

During the whole process of trial, the accused mainly defended their just demand that the status of the republic should be given to Kosovo. They turned down the accuses that they are "nationalists and irredentists", that they have been engaged in "illegal criminal", "anti-constitutional" and "unlawful" activity.

The Pristina court, staged by the Yugoslav revisionists, failed to prove the charge for nationalism. The accused substantiated and defended the just demand that the status of the republic should be given to Kosovo, because the Albanians there constitute a nation, a people who have their territory, who have their language, culture and history; that they are capable to govern themselves without the tutelage of the others. It follows from the whole trial, the casts of the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG and the Yugoslav press itself that there has been no document or statement which requires the unification with Albania. Thus the trial failed to prove even the second charge which has been made to the accused for irredentism. This trial like all the other previous ones was based on groundless charges.

The Yugoslav news agency TANJUG while releasing the news on the development of the trial, was forced to admit that the first classification of the indictment for a number of accused was changed due to the lack of proofs.

During the trial the accused rejected the false charges and machinations of Great-Serbs, opposed the arbitrary actions perpetrated against the Albanians in Yugoslavia. At the court they did not accept the charges raised on the alleged destruction of the socialist system of the SFRY, of unity-fraternity, the equality of nations and nationalities and the change of the constitutional order. On the contrary, the accused expressed the opinion that they have fought precisely to strengthen the constitutional order, for equality among the nations and nationalities, and all this, in the context of the Constitution of the federation. In fact , as is known, there are not the Albanians who do not like to co-exist with the Serbs and Montenegrins. But there are the latter who go astray and, this not from the pressure of the Albanians, but from the difficult economic and political situation which reigns in Yugoslavia. The Serbs and Montenegrins are minorities in Kosovo. They can co-exist there, as the Albanian minority co-exists in Montenegro.

The above trial had not finished yet, when on February 14, another trial began in Pristina against 5 Albanian youngsters, among whom two are underaged. They were sentenced up to 6 years' imprisonment only because they had written the slogan "Kosovo -- republic". So far the number of the Albanians sentenced with heavy imprisonment and other repressive measures in Yugoslavia referring to TANJUG, has amounted to 1,800 people, while referring to the world press, this number is much greater.

The numerous and constant trials conducted by the Yugoslav leadership and the Serb chauvinists against the Albanians in Kosovo and other regions of Yugoslavia aim at terrorizing and intimidating them. They are a vivid expression of the savage oppression and persecution against the national rights, against the political, democratic, social freedoms of the people of Kosovo, against the language, culture, and everything Albanian. To this testifies in the best way the fact that although the so-called nationalist manifestations occur throughout Yugoslavia, such drastic sentences and such a savage terror are exerted only against the Albanians. When the question arises against Kosovo all unite, as it happened with the March-April 1981 demonstrations. The tanks and the army of the federation were sent in to quench in blood the streets of Pristina and of the other cities of the regions. It so happens today, too. Thousands of youngsters languish in jails, they are quenched in blood or are tourtured there. The juridical terror endlessly continues against them.

Not only the Albanian people, but all the progressive world public opinion condemn this wave of violence and genocide. The news agencies and the foreign press have published many news and articles which express the indignation for the heavy sentences passed on the Albanians living in their territories in Yugoslavia, only because they demand their rights in the context of the Constitution of the Federation.

BENO ON IMPORTANCE OF PARTY UNITY, USSR ALLIANCE

LD171448 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 17 Feb 83

[Excerpts] The exhibition which opened at the Museum of Klement Gottwald in Prague today commemorates the historical significance of the victorious February 1948 and its heritage for today.

The opening was attended by a CPCZ Central Committee secretary, and other figures. Mikulas Beno, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, noted in the beginning of his address that we continue to learn from the unforgettable events of February 1948 which represent an important lesson for our party, our people and, above all, for the coming generation. The main lesson, learned by the party thanks to February 1948 and its entire history, is that the unity of the party is the basis for the successful conduct of revolutionary social progress, above all, its ideological and political unity in its approach toward solving the main social problems.

The successes, achieved ever since the formation of the new leadership of the party, headed by Comrade Gustav Husak, in April 1969, result from the principled approach of the party toward solving the tasks set by the 14th, 15th and 16th congresses. They also result from the ideological, political and organizational unity of the party and its action ability. They are the result of the constant struggle of the party against opportunism, revisionism and anticommunism, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas and residues. They result from the constant care of the party leadership to strengthen the party as a vanguard of the working class and care to improve the internal life of the party in the spirit of Leninist principles.

In the next part of his address Comrade Mikulas Beno recalled the tremendous significance of our alliance with the USSR -- a firm support against the attempts and plans of internal and foreign enemies to subvert our republic and its socialist development. He designated the most pressing tasks of today as averting the danger of nuclear war, defending and strengthening peace, and strengthening the trend toward relaxation of international tension.

ROHLICEK RECEIVES USSR'S GENERAL BORISOV

LD210940 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 21 Feb 83

[Text] Deputy Federal Premier Rudolf Rohlicek received at Hrzan Palace in Prague today Colonel General Grigoriy Borisov, commander-in-chief of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in Czechoslovakia.

They discussed questions of mutual cooperation between the Central Group of Soviet Forces and Czechoslovak organs and organizations.

HUSAK, JAKES, HAMAN RECEIVE BCP'S DOYNOV

LD182243 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 18 Feb 83

[Text] In Prague today Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, together with Milos Jakes, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Josef Haman, candidate Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received Ognyan Doynov, Politburo member and secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Committee who is on a working visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee.

In a cordial and comradely discussion they spoke about topical issues of economic and social development of Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria and fulfillment of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and 12th BCP Congress in the economic area. They positively assessed the results of mutual scientific-technological and economic cooperation and pointed to the importance and need for wider application and advancement of specialization, cooperation and scientific-technological cooperation in the interest of intensive economic development of the two countries. They also emphasized the importance of further deepening cooperation between the two fraternal parties, mutual exchange of experience for dealing with the tasks of economic development of the two countries for advancing cooperation and socialist economic integration within CEMA.

Also present were Vratislav Vajnar, head of the Secretariat of the General Secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Petur Danailov, Bulgarian ambassador in Czechoslovakia.

Doynov Visit Ends

LD210706 Prague CTK in English 1316 GMT 19 Feb 83

[Excerpt] Prague [dateline as received] -- Ognyan Doynov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, ended today his short working visit to Czechoslovakia made at the invitation of the Communist Party Central Committee and left for home.

BILAK RECEIVES TUNISIAN CP LEADER 17 FEB

LD182344 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 17 Feb 83

[Text] Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received today Mohamed Harmel, first secretary of the Tunisian Communist Party Central Committee, who is on a short visit to Czechoslovakia. They exchanged views on the international situation in connection with the aggressiveness of American imperialism and its striving for political and military hegemony in Europe and in other parts of the world. The two representatives stressed the great importance of the unity of the Arab movement as an important factor assisting in the creation of an independent Palestinian state and the liberation of all Arab territories occupied by the Israeli aggressor.

HOFFMANN DISCUSSES TU QUESTIONS AT ENTERPRISE

LD142247 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1900 GMT 14 Feb 83

[Text] Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, today visited the Rokycany District. At the district committee of the party he met representatives of party and trade union bodies and national committees and acquainted himself with the district's development, the structure of the party organization, and the progress of annual membership meetings to date. He outlined some suggestions for further work and, in particular, pointed to the necessity for close cooperation between the economic leadership of enterprises and the enterprise committees of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement which should be much more purposefully reflected in specific orientation of the initiative of working people, in the correct agenda of production meetings and in more permanent co-operation between workers and technologists in comprehensive rationalization teams.

This afternoon Comrade Karel Hoffmann inspected some plants of the largest industrial enterprise of the district, the Biela Cerkev iron works at Hradek U Rokycan. At a meeting with selected workers of the enterprise some questions, connected, above all, with the questions of trade union work, were discussed.

PAPER DEPLORES FOREIGN TRADE SHORTCOMINGS

AU161438 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Feb 83 p 1

[Editorial: "On the Work of Our Foreign Trade"]

[Excerpts] Last year our foreign trade continued to develop. Compared with the preceding period, the final results for the various geographical areas show different rates of growth. The international goods exchange with socialist countries has increased above all. It accounted for a full three-quarters of the overall turnover of Czechoslovak foreign trade; and of that more than 50 percent was with the Soviet Union. This proves that last year, too, the deepening economic cooperation with socialist countries on the basis of the comprehensive program of socialist economic integration was of decisive significance for our economy.

In relations with the nonsocialist states, the exports amounted to 98.6 percent of the 1981 level; the figure for imports is 93.5 percent. This produced a positive balance and made it possible to substantially reduce our debts in freely convertible currencies.

A most exacting plan has been adopted in the sphere of foreign trade for this year. It will be neither easy, nor simple to ensure, and it will take considerable effort to achieve the planned result. The export tasks must always be seen in connection with the import needs, and import costs are growing.

Certain organizational adjustments of the existing structure have been made in order to interlink production and trade. A system of reciprocal [oboustranny] training has been introduced, to enable the production workers on a temporary assignment to foreign trade organizations to become better acquainted with the latters' problems; and the foreign trade workers to acquaint themselves in production organizations with the latters' problems in exports and imports. Attention is being devoted to rearing young qualified workers for our foreign trade. A new type of postgraduate studies has been set up at the higher college of economy.

Measures have been adopted for improving the work of price bodies, both in the ministerial department and in individual foreign trade organizations, and also for further enhancing the foreign trade employees' interest in achieving optimum export and import prices. Other measures are aimed at creating prerequisites for increasing the exports of turn-key plants and construction work and for engaging Czechoslovak experts more broadly in the scientific-technical cooperation in the world.

At the same time, it is necessary to be more critical in assessing all activity in the sphere of foreign trade, or in spheres connected with it, and to note with particular attention all the shortcomings cropping up there from time to time. Surely it is impossible to pass over with a mere rebuke a case when a low-level foreign trade employee puts a request by a significant customer for an offer of certain commodities into a drawer without doing anything about it, and justifies this by saying that the customer had received such an offer 6 months ago, he should just look it up in his files.

It is no secret that, in view of the current sales crisis in Western markets, the orders are hard to get; this is particularly true of certain groups of commodities. In spite of this, it has not been possible to fill an order for 50 commodities to the tune of 60,000 Swiss francs -- which our production was to have handled within 3 months -- even within 6 months. Since it was an order for seasonal goods, the customer cancelled it and bought the goods from the competition.

And how should one view producers in a sector complaining of insufficient interest in its products?

Last year a certain firm showed an interest in goods produced by this sector to the tune of 2 million marks; and it promised to buy 25 percent more this year. But since our producer was incapable of producing the necessary goods; the firm reduced its interest 50 percent, and is even thinking of starting its own production. Another firm ordered goods in the same sector to the tune of 400,000 pounds; but our producer was capable of delivering only roughly 25 percent of the amount.

Deplorably, there are many such instances; and also others, when a customer demands a rebate for the unsatisfactory quality of goods, or complains of incomplete or overdue deliveries, of the lack of spare parts and so forth. Were it not for such losses last year, the positive balance in trade with advanced industrial states could have been much higher. But it is a matter of more than the writing off of losses -- in fact, in these instances it is almost impossible to figure out the loss of confidence, which plays into the hands of our competitors.

From this viewpoint it has surely been beneficial to introduce the system of reciprocal training in production and in foreign trade; various other ways of linking trade and production are being tested; and further measures are about to be taken.

A lot of things must also be remedied and improved in trade relations with the socialist countries; all the more so, since they play an increasingly significant role in the overall turnover. Although trade relations develop on the basis of long term agreements, in the annual protocols they must be imbued with offers of specific goods -- naturally not the goods some production enterprise wants to sell, but primarily those in which the partner is interested. We must point out again that the seller's market no longer exists; we now have an exclusively buyer's market and -- to be blunt -- this means the need to produce only what somebody has ordered and to strictly fulfill all conditions set in the contract. If this is not taken into account, there will be nobody to produce for.

IMPORTS OF WESTERN TECHNOLOGY DISCUSSED

AU161524 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 15 Feb 83 p 6

["HV"-signed article: "Concentrating on Helping Exports"]

[Summary] In the CSSR at present there are 11 foreign trade organizations which cooperate with more than 1,000 firms from all over the world. These foreign trade organizations have been grouped into the so-called Special Purpose Association of Foreign Trade Representations [Ucelove Sdruzeni Organizaci Pro Hahranicni Obchod -- (USOZ)]. Their names are Efektim, Interal, Intesim, Media, Mercanta, Phoenix, Pragent, Rephachem, Tradex, Unifrux and Zenit. The majority of them have been established to function as contacts between foreign manufacturers and our import, production and research organizations. They concentrate, in particular, on the key sectors of our national economy, that is, on engineering and the chemical industry, but are also active, for example, in the field of pharmaceutical products, consumer goods and foodstuffs.

These organizations are adapting to the new economic conditions and introducing new nontraditional forms of operation into their practices. These new forms, in particular, consist of selecting and negotiating production cooperations, barter deals [vazbove obchody] and -- through their connections abroad -- helping to increase our exports.

One of the most successful of these organizations is Media, which last year alone negotiated deals involving imports to the tune of more than Kcs2 billion, and its commissions from foreign firms -- despite the crisis in the capitalist world -- rose by almost 7 percent compared to 1981.

But the managers of Media, which cooperates with about 160 firms in the capitalist countries in the spheres of engineering, plant instrumentation, consumer goods and foodstuffs, realize that the hitherto "classical content" of its activity is no longer enough. In addition to representing foreign firms in the CSSR, they want to help our production sector with sales on the capitalist markets, arrange barter deals and sell surplus consumer goods inventories.

Media also is active in the sphere of negotiating production cooperation. For example, it has negotiated between the West German firm Degussa and ZSE Prague a deal involving cooperation in the production of multipurpose and vacuum furnaces for thermal processing. Negotiations on production cooperation are underway between the Belgian subsidiary of the Clark Bobcat company and our Strojexport foreign trade enterprise and the ZTS [heavy engineering enterprise], of Martin, involving the production of components for accessory equipment for multipurpose loaders.

The results of media's representation of the Japanese Komatsu company, which has been delivering heavy construction machinery to us, deserve attention too: In cooperation with Strojexport, Komatsu has set up a spare part and service department in our country.

Media has also negotiated the import of a laser instrument from the FRG-U.S. Coherent Radiation-Laser Optronic company, which now operates in the Tatrasklo glass factory in Lednicke Rovne. Another laser instrument from the same company will operate in the Crystalex glass factory in Novy Bor.

For more than 10 years now Media has been arranging imports of regulatory, heating, measuring and air-conditioning equipment from the Austrian subsidiary of the Honeywell company for our housing developments.

By 1990, the decisive part of the heating equipment of large buildings, housing developments and entire cities is to be equipped with the tried and tested Honeywell system, since no similar system is manufactured in our country or any other socialist country.

EXPERT DISCUSSES SHORTCOMINGS IN MANAGEMENT

AU171437 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Feb 83 p 4

[Iveta Fryvaldova interview with university lecturer Josef Khol, head of the research department of the Institute of Management in Prague: "Personality Evolves During Activity; Wherein Lies the Essence of Effective Management?" -- place and date of interview not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] Comrade university lecturer, my visit here has been prompted by a questionaire entitled "Data for Surveying the Effectiveness of Managerial Work." You have sent it to management cadres to be completed by them, from which you apparently acquire certain data. What are they?

[Answer] This questionnaire is one of many. We have been working with it long enough to be able to compare some data with equivalent data from other socialist countries or with our own previous data. For example, on the basis of this survey we can say that the quality of management in our country is not increasing at the same rate as the demands on it. We have found out that the time needed for implementing the tasks that managers are given or which they assign has doubled in the last decade! The period of preparation for decisions has increased 2 and 1/2 times!

[Question] How do you explain this? Is it because of the exactingness of the requirements?

[Answer] That is not the only reason. The problems are of a subjective nature. In essential parameters, our managers lag behind managers from other socialist countries. Their average age is higher, too many of them are already beyond the zenith of their capability, and -- no matter how paradoxical this may sound -- they are less experienced. Experience does not depend so much on age as on the number of contacts they have had in the course of their lives. They receive constant training, that is true, but they have had, essentially, little experience in life.

[Question] Is lack of experience, measured in terms of the number of contacts, the only factor impeding managerial work?

[Answer] Certainly not. Connected with this is the quality of one's education, one's age, but also something that might be called opportunism in the economic practice. Judging from comparable surveys in Bulgaria, Hungary and the Soviet Union, the highest degree of this opportunism is in our country. The danger of opportunism in practice is referred to by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, in his speeches on economic problems, when he points to the discrepancy between words and deeds, to the fact that it is possible to endorse the needs of the times on the theoretical plane but to act differently in practice.

[Question] It has become a deeply rooted habit to conceal one's own potentials and to justify one's own lag by referring to objective causes and to even hope to profit from them.

[Answer] Let us add to all this the shortcomings existing in the area of norms. The system of social work motivation, too, requires further improvement. It is as though it were implanted on the regulations and principles governing the creation of financial plans. Yet these two are, metaphorically speaking, two different worlds and if you try to merge them into one, difficulties are bound to arise.

[Question] Does this mean that the gist of problems in managerial work is not only in the selection of cadres as some people believe?

[Answer] Under the existing conditions, a radical exchange of cadres could even be harmful. The new ones would probably not be much better than the ones we have. The question must be posed differently: What methods of management do these cadres use? How can they be taught to apply good methods and to eliminate bad ones from their conduct? As I see it, the essence of the effectiveness of managerial work can be resolved at the level of the specialist sectors' activity and, above all, at the level of interdisciplinary [prurezovy] sectors. It is there that we must begin, for there lie the sources of the erroneous notions about what we call the standard of management.

CADRES URGED TO BE AWARE OF PUBLIC MOOD

AU171503 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Feb 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Knowing the People's Opinions"]

[Excerpts] The party's intensive and patient ideo-educational work is a thorn in the side of our class enemies. In order to undermine the socialist convictions which the overwhelming majority of our people today regard as their own, and to impair the high authority of Marxism-Leninism, socialist patriotism and internationalism, they are striving to disrupt in every way the shaping of the people's scientific world outlook and to influence them to change their moral profile and their conscious working activity.

We are warding off these insidious endeavors, above all, by positive work for socialism, by purposeful political-educational activity in the spirit of our philosophy and scientific socialism, and by making use of various methods and forms of political agitation.

In this struggle for the mind of every person there is deep significance in the conclusions drawn by the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session of March 1980 on further raising the standards and efficacy of political-educational and ideological work, conclusions which enjoin us not to slacken for a single moment in our everyday contact with the people and not to grow lax in the effort to win and consolidate their trust in the party and its policy. In places where the management bodies and responsible functionaries listen sensitively to the people's opinions, where they do not evade problems or cover them up, but enterprisingly resolve them, the party's connection with the people is being consolidated. In these places we can better ensure even very difficult tasks, and create scope for the further growth of working initiative. On the other hand, in places where things are different, where the Communists do not provide timely and truthful replies to the working people's questions, and do not oppose incorrect opinions which distort man's socialist profile or determine the qualities of socialist life, an unhealthy moral-political climate is established and it takes a long time for us to overcome its consequences. The Communists must recognize this phenomenon in time and prevent it from spreading. Here they must know no compromise.

Of significant help in assessing the level of public opinion are the party groups and agitation collectives, lecturers, propagandists and political information staff. It is a fact that, as a rule, the Communists participate in the work of individual production collectives, or live in the same place as the other citizens. They can immediately react to incorrect opinions and supply objective information to the party body about what they have learned.

It is not always, and not everywhere, that we can speak of a basic organization's principled approach to this matter. It is not always, and not everywhere, that party and economic bodies have a clear view of the level of opinion, one that is really objectively worked out. Sometimes they make light of even serious phenomena in the people's statements, by saying that these are the opinions of only a small group or individuals. But what is the influence of such a small group or even a single individual with a hostile attitude toward us on the opinions of others? Nobody opposes his malicious words, the "guaranteed information" spread by him, or the doubt he casts on our policy.

Elsewhere we see endeavors to develop activities aimed at acquiring knowledge according to the principle that the wish is the father of the idea. The comrades emphasize opinions which they like to hear, ignoring all others. Then they inform the party body about the situation in such a "dressed-up" way as though everybody in their working place supported our policy with enthusiasm and the greatest devotion, although such an ideal state of affairs will still require much diligent and patient political-educational work. Of course, in determining the contents of political agitation it is far easier to proceed from "knowledge" described in optimistic terms; and therefore many people willingly acquiesce.

Likewise, insufficient care is being given to the working people's remarks and suggestions, particularly those which the basic organization is unable to resolve on its own. It is impossible to be inconsistent in demanding responsible statements of attitude from the management workers who have an elephant's hide as regards criticism. If a party organization's committee does not insist with the fullest emphasis on a solution, the number of suggestions and remarks decreases.

The people are not used to talking to a brick wall; and a person who loses trust is also unwilling to give his opinion about the way things are developing around him.

As underscored in Comrade Gustav Husak's report at the 16th CPCZ Congress, we must perfect the information system at all levels. The only information we need is truthful, objective information which does not camouflage shortcomings or distort the substance of the matter. Unobjective or incomplete information compiled so as to make certain people look good damages us politically. It does not enable us to make correct decisions and effective conclusions. We must use the method of critical analysis and proceed from knowledge based on precise and verified facts, on the deep knowledge of social reality.

Thus, we really cannot underrate the significance of acquiring knowledge under the current conditions of party work. Even the best research institute cannot give us this kind of foundation for agitation work and, naturally, political-educational and organizational work, since it can concentrate on analyzing public opinion on only a selected range of questions. Our basic organizations' knowledge of the moods and way of thinking of the people within their scope of activities must be comprehensive and it must be gathered at short intervals, so as to enable them to create conditions for an atmosphere in plants which will solely be conducive to creative work.

IMPACT OF WESTERN IDEAS ON YOUTH DEPLORED

AU181345 [Editorial Report] Prague TRIBUNA No 7 in Czech on 16 February on page 5 carries a 1,400-word Jaroslav Rous article entitled "Also a Way of Engaging in Ideological Subversion." The article deals with the fad among young people for displaying various Western symbols.

Rous says: "Many young people are competing with each other in endeavoring to obtain bags, jackets, pants or hats which are as eye-catching as possible with an inscription in English, German, French or other languages of capitalist countries, where such articles mainly serve advertising purposes. Added to this is the ambition to 'adorn oneself' with the flags of imperialist states. We often see them on the sleeves or breasts of these 'scrawled over' young people, but also on places that until recently fathers used to spank, apparently with little effect.

"Many people in our country regard this as an innocuous and passing fashion, as the normal eccentricity of immature youngsters. Evidence of the underestimation of the political impact of this 'fashion' was recently furnished by some of our socialist production and trade enterprises. Instead of resisting bad taste by producing and selling new, desirable and tasteful models, instead of seeking to improve the standard of people's clothes and contributing to shaping a socialist lifestyle, they have adapted -- displaying unprecedented flexibility -- to the demands of muddled up groups of youngsters, giving priority to the economic effect. Our market has been flooded with t-shirts and other domestically produced clothes with inscriptions in foreign languages, attractive girls, pictures of Formula-1 racing cars, cowboys and so forth.

"Today it is not unusual to see in the public transportation system a woman who has never been on a plane, not even on a domestic route, displaying for others' admiration a bag bearing the inscription Pan-Am, a mother of two children hall-marked as Miss Dior, a chubby middle-aged woman with the inscription the Hollywood star, or a 15-year-old 'graduate' of Oxford University who, asked where Oxford is, self-consciously replies 'in America, naturally.'"

In the shop of a socialist organization, the Na Porici branch of the Fotografia Cooperative Enterprise in Prague, the customers are waited on by employees who bear the inscription University of California on their blouses. Our cosmetics and other products would probably lose all their appeal if they did not have French or English names. Singers of popular music and discotheques shower us daily with Western hits or their domestic imitations, next to which a committed song must feel like a poor relative. This list could be continued endlessly.

"Among young people who are 'adorned' with inscriptions in foreign languages we can find members and functionaries of the Socialist Youth Union, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, and in addition, members and functionaries of the party. They are not enemies of socialism. Many of them are members of brigades of socialist labor, improvers and innovators. It is only because of their political immaturity, the inability to assess the political impact of this fashion or simply because they want to be up-to-date that they have become unconscious promoters of Western propaganda.

"It would be a grave mistake to perceive this phenomenon merely as an innocuous fashion that has no political impact on society. The walking advertising pillars for Western companies and other factors daily influence -- subtly, yet incessantly -- the working people's minds. Thereby, they shape and nourish illusions about the Western way of life and the superiority of the capitalist social system and impede the shaping of a socialist lifestyle. Antisocialist elements in the West and inside the socialist society reckon with this influence and include it in their propaganda arsenal. That is also why the emergence of counterrevolutionary forces in the CSSR and elsewhere has always been accompanied by a significant proliferation of this form of propaganda for the West."

According to Rous, besides "unconscious" propagators of the Western lifestyle, there are also "conscious" exponents of the Western way of life among the Czechoslovak youth. He says in this context: "Special attention must be paid to those young people who are consciously becoming instruments of ideological subversion. They regard as exemplary anything coming from the capitalist West, especially the United States. Not just decorated jackets, hats and bags but also the consumer orientated attitude toward society. Not just the eye-catching and ostentatiously displayed specimen of bad taste and lack of aesthetic feeling, but also the Western way of life, for which they show uncritical admiration.

"Our mass information media inform the public daily about the material, political and military support of the United States for the most reactionary regimes in the world. These people know that the weapons with which the Israeli aggressors kill in Lebanon and the South African racists in Angola and elsewhere come from the United States. They know that the United States is getting ready to deploy intermediate-range missiles in Europe aimed against our people. Nevertheless, we encounter the American flag on their sleeves, the inscription U.S. pilot on their jackets and so forth. Given the good knowledge of our working people [about world affairs], this cannot be seen merely as political blindness. It is an ostentatious display of lack of respect for the victims of world reaction and an expression of a certain attitude to life."

Rous concludes the article by saying: "What is startling is the small attention, bordering on indifference, paid to these forms of ideological subversion. The families of young people, educators and leading economic cadres, but also the respective party and social organizations and mass media do not fight them effectively enough.

They make little use of means of education, and in cadre work, too, 'mere questions of fashion' are not the subject of evaluation. This opens up wide scope for these anti-socialist influences. At a time in which American imperialism is mobilizing its forces, preparing a confrontation, this is surely worthy of serious consideration."

In the same issue, in the "Letters, Views, Polemics, Reactions" column on page 6, TRIBUNA carries a 650-word letter from Judita Grossmannova, who is from Hradec Kralove, in which she takes exception to a January 1983 concert of two Prague rock groups -- the professional band "Prague Selection" and the amateur band "Trifid" -- in her home town. Describing her impression of the concert, the reader asks: "What does their art fight for? Whom does it serve? What does it teach? Or are the aesthetic and moral vaulues of these bands perhaps identical with their grotesque costumes and mode of expression? A pink knit lady's hat, a farm boy's pants, an undershirt with a black tailcoat, a white shirt worn over the pants, a wide colorful tie, a hair-net and white gloves. Even a surgeon's coat with a veil appeared on stage. Was it perhaps meant as a protest? Against what?

The reader then takes issue with the bands' "ideologically problematic, if not objectionable" lyrics, their "stupid" refrains and their "guttural" singing and goes on to say: "Is it funny? Perhaps it is, unless you cast an eye at the audience. To this sort of audience, the admirers of Prague Selection, applause is something unknown. The supreme expression of recognition is hissing, stamping one's feet, screaming, producing unimaginable noise and holding one's hands up with two fingers making the sign of victory (over decency and good taste?). Such was the result of the artistic performance of the two bands."

In concluding her letter, Grossmannova says: "The performance of the two bands in Hradec Kralove was highly problematic, both in terms of good taste and the ideological orientation as such. Their flirtation with the fashion of the punk style goes beyond the goals pursued by our socialist culture -- at least as regards the impact on the aesthetic feelings of the young generation. One cannot speak here of any ideological influence, except in the very opposite sense.

"The 'producer' of this form of art -- the Prague Cultural Center -- should more extensively review the repertoires of the bands it 'sells.' The same is true of those who 'import' culture and present it to the audience, in this case the Hradec Kralove park of culture and repose. It would certainly do no harm if they seriously considered whether this type of art is exactly what our present young generation needs and whether Prague Selection is not a bit too much for it."

FRG PAPER REPORTS NEW USSR MISSILE SITE IN GDR

DW211311 Bonn DIE WELT in German 19-20 Feb 83 p 1

[Ruediger Moniac report]

[Excerpt] Bonn -- Some 10 km south of Rostock, as well as near Dumayr and Homs in Syria, positions for the Soviet antiaircraft missile SA-5 (NATO code word "Gammon") are under construction or already finished. The finished GDR site is politically explosive particularly because East Berlin together with the Soviet Union demand the establishment of a nuclear-free zone on the territory of both German states.

SA-5 antiaircraft missiles have been deployed in the Soviet Union since 1963 for air space protection. They are scheduled for defense against fast planes. NATO experts believe that the missile site is being built near Rostock to fight Western reconnaissance planes of the AWACS E 3-A type, to achieve air superiority in the Western Baltic in case the straits to the North Sea should be opened in a war, and to threaten ground targets in North Germany with nuclear weapons.

HONECKER SPEAKS TO SED GROUP ON DISARMAMENT, FRG

Reactions to Swedish Proposal

LD181542 East Berling ADN International Service in German 1335 GMT 18 Feb 83

[Text] Berlin, 18 Feb (ADN) --The GDR, together with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, calls for a genuine zero option, for a Europe free from nuclear arms and also from chemical arms, Erich Honecker stated at a meeting of the SED Central Committee Secretariat with the first secretaries of the district party executive committees, which took place in Berlin on Friday [18 February]. Obviously we have no illusion, he added, that the creation of a nuclear-free Europe, toward which the GDR is working with all its powers, is possible overnight, from one day to the next. However, this does not absolve us us from the duty to ensure step by step a nuclear-free Europe. For this reason the GDR has given its consent to the considerations conveyed by the Swedish Government aimed at creating a nuclear weapon-free zone in Europe on both sides of the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

It is known, Erich Honecker emphasized, that he has addressed a letter to Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and proposed to the FRG Government that it also support the Swedish initiative. The general secretary refered to the point made in his letter that -- proceeding from the importance of the Swedish initiative, the responsibility of the two German states for peace and the concomittant duty to contribute actively toward the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe -- it would be of great import if the FRG Government also supported this initiative. At the same time the FRG Government was officially informed that the GDR had declared to the Swedish Government its willingness that if a nuclear-free zone were created in central Europe, with its regard for equality and equal security the GDR would make its whole territory available for this.

Erich Honecker stated that this proposal has met with a worldwide response and that the GDR has made clear its willingness conclusively to make any contribution toward safeguarding peace and averting the danger of a nuclear inferno. An agreement on a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Europe would have positive effects on reviving the process of detente, on the continuation of the East-West dialogue and on the expansion of the treaty system between states of differing social orders.

Concerning Federal Chancellor Kohl's reply to his letter, received on Thursday, Erich Honecker said it shows that the present Federal Government is unable to support the initiative for a nuclear-weapon-free zone in central Europe. The reason given was the alleged conventional superiority of the Warsaw Pact in Europe.

The general secretary stated that there is no need to emphasize that the FRG, by rejecting the proposal, is once again missing an opportunity to make peace in Europe more secure. However, the FRG's negative attitude will not mean the end of the Swedish proposal since the idea of the creation of a nuclear-free zone is increasingly gaining gound in influential circles in Europe.

Considering NATO's inability to stop the peace movement, even these circles are considering searching for new alternatives to the so-called zero option at an opportune moment -- namely, after the FRG elections on 6 March. The whole world knows that such alternatives are already on the negotiating table. Erich Honecker referred to the Warsaw Pact Political Declaration, to the support for the Swedish proposal, to the numerous initiatives for the creation of nuclear-free zones. Only a few days ago it was possible, through the use of force on the groups of the Greens, the FDP and SPD in the diet of Lower Saxony, to stop a discussion of the Swedish proposal.

Further on Arms Issues

LD181622 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1414 GMT 18 Feb 83

[Text] Berlin, 18 Feb (ADN) -- The fight against war, against a nuclear inferno and for peace and disarmament has entered a new stage, Erich Honecker said today at a meeting of the SED Central Committee Secretariat with the first secretaries of the district party executive committees. The general secretary of the SED Central Committee refered to the agreement of the peoples to the constructive peace proposals and to the socialist countries' untiring initiatives for the improvement of the world situation. Various public statements by social-democrats, grand-bourgeois parties, and government representatives of Western states recently testify to the possibility, he emphasized, of finding a common language in the question of peace and of arriving at common actions.

In his speech on the international situation Erich Honecker emphasized that conflict in the fight for peace is becoming more acute. The socialist countries' course in containing the arms race, consolidating peace, and defending the sovereign rights and freedoms of the peoples are faced by the course of imperialism's most aggressive circles aiming at undermining detente, at confrontation and arms drive, at interference in internal affairs and at suppression of the national liberation struggle.

The predominant trend today, Erich Honecker said, is the growth of the forces of socialism and of peace, the further confinement of the sphere of dominance of imperialism, and the aggravation of the crisis in its system, of its internal difficulties.

Of course, it is decisive that the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community have succeeded in breaking imperialism's military-strategic superiority. Thanks above all to this, the speaker said, so far a new world war has been prevented. Today the states of the socialist community are in a position to solve two tasks of strategic importance at the same time: exploiting to the full all possibilities in socialism for the good of man, and the creation of the external conditions necessary for this by ensuring their security. A socialism that really exists is an inexhausible source of strength for the hope of peoples for a world free of injustice and new wars.

Erich Honecker paid tribute to the wide-ranging proposals on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms such as the medium-range missiles in Europe put forward by Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR. Together with these proposals, the Prague declaration of the Warsaw Pact states represents a realistic, acceptable program of initiatives for the solution of the most burning issues of war and peace, while respecting the interests of all sides. The GDR, Erich Honecker said, will make its active contribution to putting substance into the Political Declaration.

In this connection the general secretary stressed that the NATO states would be destroying the regional and global balance of forces by stationing the new U.S. medium-range nuclear weapons in West Europe planned for this year, starting a new round in the arms race, and finally putting everything made possible by the process of detente at stake. The Soviet Union's proposals, which aim at the lowest possible level of medium-range weapons in Europe, are also a fair and just position for the other side, insofar as it is prepared at all to preserve peace with fewer weapons. This presents the opportunity to come to an agreement.

The FRG which, as is known, is among the instigators of the stationing of such new missiles, should understand that the USSR will accept no solution that would mean its unilateral disarmament. He who acts as the FRG has done, Erich Honecker said, does not want an agreement but rather the stationing of U.S. missiles in Western Europe, therefore he must also take upon himself all the unavoidable consequences -- political, military and others.

FRG Relations

LD181635 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1423 GMT 18 Feb 83

[Text] Berlin, 18 Feb (ADN) -- At a discussion of the SED Central Committee Secretariat with first secretaries of SED district executive committees, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee also discussed issues concerning relations between the two German states. In his speech on the party's next tasks in the further implementation of the resolutions of the 10th party congress, Erich Honecker said that for the situation in Europe and the world it is of no small significance whether the political climate on the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO is characterized by calm and peaceful cooperation based on equal rights or whether it harbors tensions and dangerous sources of conflict. He stressed that therefore, after the change of government in Bonn, the desire for normal interstate cooperation on an agreed basis still determines the way we approach relations with the FRG.

We hear the statements by Chancellor Kohl and his government on the fulfillment of the treaty obligations undertaken and on the continuation of the previous ostpolitik. These statements show that even a CDU/CSU-led government could not simply ignore realities.

An understanding of realities is needed, Erich Honecker said. There are two German states -- the socialist GDR and the capitalist FRG -- and not "two states in Germany." Accordingly, relations between them can only develop if they respect each others as states that have equal rights, that are independent of each other and sovereign. The new FRG Government cannot be released from the obligations imposed on it by the European treaties. He who wishes to learn from German history -- and the recent 50th anniversary of the establishment of Hitler's Dictatorship has once again provided an opportunity to do so -- must realize that Germans, if they wish to act for their own good and that of all peoples, must act in harmony with the prevailing realities of the time.

They will lose if they succumb to the forces of reaction; only on the path of peace and progress can they find a good future. It has been convincingly shown that it is a matter of good fortune for our people and for Europe that the GDR exists, the first socialist state of workers and peasants on German soil.

KADAR RECEIVES WARSAW PACT'S KULIKOV 17 FEB

LD172040 Budapest MTI in English 1735 GMT 17 Feb 83

[Text] Budapest, February 17 (MTI) -- Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, received Viktor Kulikov, marshal of the Soviet Union and commander-in-chief of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty, currently on an official visit to Hungary, Thursday. The cordial, friendly meeting was attended by Mihaly Korom, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, and Army General Lajos Czinege, defense minister.

LEADERS ATTEND SOVIET AMBASSADOR'S RECEPTION

LD182336 Budapest MTI in English 1019 GMT 18 Feb 83

[Text] Budapest, February 17 (MTI) -- Vladimir Bazovskiy, Soviet ambassador in Budapest, gave a reception at the embassy Thursday on the 35th anniversary of the signing of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Treaty. Present were Miklos Ovari, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee; Peter Varkonyi, secretary of the Central Committee; Antal Apro, president of the National Assembly; Jozsef Marjai, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers; Frigyes Puja, minister of foreign affairs; and several representatives of Hungary's political, economic, social, and cultural life.

POLISH-HUNGARIAN FOREIGN MINISTERS' TALKS OPEN

LD220720 Budapest MTI in English 1708 GMT 21 Feb 83

[Text] Budapest, February 21 [MTI] -- Official Hungarian-Polish foreign ministerial talks opened in Budapest Monday. Polish Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski arrived in Budapest Monday on the invitation of Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja. After his arrival the head of the Polish diplomacy laid a wreath at the Hungarian Heroes' monument. Foreign ministerial talks were attended by Jozsef Garamvolgyi, Hungarian ambassador in Warsaw, and Tadeusz Pietrzak, Polish ambassador in Budapest.

LEADERS MEET WITH POLAND'S RAKOWSKI, CIOSEK

LD210010 Budapest MTI in English 1755 GMT 21 Feb 83

[Text] Budapest, February 19 (MTI) -- On the invitation of Istvan Sarlos, member of the HSWP Political Committee and vice-chairman of the Council of Minsters, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and vice premier, and Minister Stanislaw Ciosek, responsible for trade union affairs, paid a visit to Hungary. Janos Kadar, first secretary of the HSWP CC, met the Polish visitors.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski had talks with Gyorgy Aczel, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the CC, Sandor Gaspar, member of the Political Committee, and Istvan Sarlos. They exchanged views on questions of political, economic and cultural cooperation, devoting special attention to tasks serving the development of economic cooperation. The Polish visitors studied the work of Hungarian trade unions, the experiences of the training and further training of trade union officials and discussed of the situation of the Polish trade union movement.

JARUZELSKI ATTENDS KATOWICE PZPR MEETING 21 FEB

LD211140 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 21 Feb 83

[Text] In Katowice, the PZPR Voivodship accountability-programmatic conference is taking place today. The slogan of the conference is: We unite party ranks on the grounds of the ninth congress resolution. Over 400 delegates are representing nearly 283,000 members of the voivodship party organization -- the largest in the country. Over half the PZPR members and candidates in this region are workers. The conference of the Silesian basin communists is attended by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and premier.

Addresses Conference

LD220100 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1850 GMT 21 Feb 83

[Speech by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, on 21 February at the Katowice PZPR accountability-programmatic conference -- recorded]

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Feb -- Thank you for the invitation to the accountability-programmatic conference of the Katowice PZPR organization. Less than 2 years ago, on 26 June 1981, I had the opportunity to attend your pre-congress conference. Not much time has elapsed since then, but at the same time how many events we have lived through, how much has changed, and what a very long way we have traversed. The report delivered by Comrade Messner and the lively interesting discussion is full confirmation of this. At the same time, however, it points out how complex the tasks are which lie ahead, how many difficulties must be overcome, and what must be done with the utmost energy.

We can state with satisfaction that the party is recovering its strength, rallying its ranks, and becoming a driving force in the process of rebirth and strengthening of the socialist values of the state and society. It also grows more and more intensely aware of the essence of its historical responsibility, becomes increasingly aware of its leading role as a high dignity in the service of the nation. A valuable achievement has been the shaping of a new style of party work, proper proportions and equilibrium between democracy and centralism of action. Also a lively ideological demand is coming to light of expectation and search for an answer to the questions of: where are we, at what stage of the socialist construction? Where have we (?retreated), and where have conclusions from the committed mistakes and severe experience of the sharp class struggle hardened us, purified the field of vision, and thus moved us forward? These are the questions which we should answer at the nearest, the 12th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of our party.

There are many such questions and statements that can be put forth. One thing that is [word indistinct] incontrovertible is that regardless of various weaknesses and defeats, the strategic line of our party since August 1980 up to the present stage of suspension of martial law has been stable and consistent. This is the line of the 9th congress, the line of struggle and agreement, the line of socialistically understood renewal. Its durability has been the political and moral foundation of the party's credibility, of the sincerity of its obligations, and far-sightedness of its program. It is on this that we must build the guarantee that there is no return to the pre-August diseases nor the pre-December destruction. In this respect the party must demonstrate high sensitivity and intransigence. All remnants and recurrence, of arrogance, insensitivity, and instances of being out of touch with social moods and everyday human needs should be decisively combated. This kind of evil has a natural tendency towards recurrence and ramification. The party cannot succumb to it and give in to complacency. A great deal must still be done in our own ranks. Awaiting us are many efforts to extirpate, overcome all that blocks access to the masses and to regain their full confidence. For the Marxist-Leninist party this still remains the basic task.

The party is waging a struggle against a political enemy. Although its main headquarters have been routed and the plans and actions directed against the socialist Poland unmasked, although the working people are becoming increasingly aware of the genuine objectives and the harm inflicted by the counter-revolutionary opposition, the opponent, nevertheless, continues to operate. Inspired and supported from abroad, the opponent has resolved to instigate and poison the social atmosphere, to fan up manifold tensions, we shall firmly fight this opponent. He has no historical chance at all.

At the same time we must be patient in regaining understanding and confidence of the erring, misoriented people harbouring various doubts and grudges. We want them to be with us, they should be with us. This concerns, in the first place, workers; it also concerns youth. Many have found themselves under the influence of demagogical agitation, some have collided with the law. They have borne, are bearing respective responsibility. But in fact the true instigators of their errors are well-educated, sophisticated advisers, ring-leaders, animators, and inspirators. They were the one's who poisoned with hatred, fanned up moods towards anarchy and remotely manipulated the inexperienced, stormily developing movement though they have no participation in an illegal strike written in their record, though their hands are not soiled with the stone thrown at a militiaman, but their conscience is not clean.

They are politically and morally responsible for those whom they have led astray. I believe that our society will evaluate this properly. The party has drawn from that appropriate conclusions. Among them it inspired respective state organs to show clemency for them to give a chance wherever it is right and possible to workers, young people, who were unnecessarily dragged into dangerous whirlpool.

This conference is being held in the industrial heart of Poland, in the party organization and the region which has the largest concentration of the working class. That is why, on behalf of the Central Committee of our party and from right here, I wish to stress with full force with decisive role of workers in socialist Poland. We are of an opinion that this should be reflected in strong, practical and concrete way.

This concerns primarily taking care of the existence of the working class, supplies for it, its living conditions, safety and hygience of labor, and the process of implementing the reform that would be understandable and advantageous for workers. But such must be the priority in the socio-economic policy of a socialist state.

This priority must be observed also in the political and moral sphere. This is to consist of an appropriate, broad and active participation, an opinion of the working class that is really taken into account by the party authorities and apparatus at various levels by representative bodies, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, social organizations, and in various actions undertaken to promote public good.

This priority must finally be reflected in a much more perceptible than so far access of the worker and the peasant youth to education, science, and culture. With this in mind the Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technology will start organizing this year special several-month courses preparing exactly this category of youth for higher school studies. With the same thought in mind, the National Council for Culture plans to pay special attention to propagating values of culture and cultural activization of the worker and peasant milieus. The great duty of our party is a close and direct tie with the working class and with non-party workers.

Over the last year these contacts of the party authorities and its individual governing bodies have become markedly animated. But this does not suffice. We see the need for establishing indispensable forms of consulting with the working class of various kinds of actions and decisions.

To give this a more organized character it is necessary for the trade unions to take part in it on a wide scale. In order to do this, however, their further development, consolidation of their position is necessary. Without that -- as recent experience has shown -- it is not easy to carry out serious, credible consulting activity.

The new trade unions began activities in January of last year. It is the duty of all realistically thinking forces to approach them in a constructive manner, break distrust, and oppose any attempts to boycott them. There is not and there will be no return to the past. The course of life cannot be halted -- it can only be delayed, complicated. One should thus be sorry that time was lost -- that opportunities were not taken advantage of to solve problems that could have been solved.

The idea of rebirth of the Polish trade union movement has found a firm support in our party. The correct relations between the party and trade unions have the decisive significance for the consolidation of the its ties with the working class, in putting into effect the principles of socialist democracy, in solving the emerging controversies and conflicts. The party will support the trade unions in defence of the interests of the working people, in the struggle for the observance of socialist inter-human relations.

The unions are supposed to be strong, self-governed, and independent of the administration. The political unity of the Polish working class should be built and consolidated on their foundation. Members of all previous union currents, including members of the former Solidarnosc, on an increasingly broad scale will find a place in the new unions.

So far, trade unions or founding committees have been set up in over 60 percent of the factories, including the biggest plants in our country; 1,250,000 members have joined them. These are mostly workers. In some professional groups, a considerable part of employees have already joined the unions. This is the case of metallurgists, agricultural workers, employees of the car transport, and teachers. In these milieus, between 20 and 35 percent of the employees are members of trade unions.

A striving to set up suprafactory structures is already occuring in some organizations. The unions want to be strong partners of organs of the administration, and be a real subject in public life. We understand and support these strivings of trade unionsits. We will promote the process of shaping the suprafactory structures before the lapse of the established data wherever the conditions will arise and wherever trade union representations will be elected.

A resolution to expand the forms and possibilities of expressing opinion by trade unions on assumptions and drafts of legal acts concerning the rights and the interests of the working people to the unions -- this will be a permanent practice of state authorities, a confirmation of the idea of people's power and reaching for collective wisdom of the working class.

A sharp struggle for social consciousness is going on in Poland, a struggle for the people's attitude to what is going on in this country and around the world. The opponents of socialism attempt to exploit for their ends our economic problems, many concerns, and shortcomings in our daily life. Their object is to talk society into believing that the past year brought not a single change for the better, that we have no program to overcome the crisis, that the price hike and the poverty of society is the only prospect. All that is designed to stoke up mistrust towards the party and people's authority, stir up resistance to its actions, spread the sense of hopelessness and helplessness, impede the process of stabilization and consolidation.

A majority of society realizes that the views spread by the opponent belie the truth. But one cannot fail to note that they have a following in some circles. There are many sources of that. The main cause is the decline in the living standards over the past period. Many people live with dissatisfaction and a sense of wrong. On the other hand the knowledge of the actual economic mechanism is still insufficient. A part of society still believes that it is the authorities, the government that decides on the consumer standards.

We are far from regarding all of our actions as accurate and unerring. Blunders, bureaucratic bottlenecks, and short-sighted forecasting of some effects does occur. We draw conclusions from that, including personnel reshuffles. Thousands of such decisions have been taken over the past 2 years, many of them at central and voivodship levels. We will continue following this line. What we need today, above all, is a thorough knowledge of what has been good and what has been bad, what has been objective and what subjective, what we have managed to achieve and what we have failed to carry out. Such matters come up for party evaluations during the accountability-programmatic conferences. This forum has also devoted a good deal of attention to them.

Let us again go back to the end of 1981, the starting point. We remember how production and cooperation ties broke down following the destructive activities by the forces opposed to the state. The market virtually ceased to function. There were shortages of food, heating fuels, and even basic medicaments. The economic system disintegrated all but completely. Society was losing the foundations of material existence from day to day. The country was facing a catastrophe.

The American, Western sanctions hit at that ailing, mangled socioeconomic organism with full premeditation, foul as they are in their underlying assumption and doing a serious harm to our society. We have weathered that blow as well. There were auguries that the Polish economy would collapse as early as winter 1982, then in the following spring, summer, and autumn. Meanwhile, we have been through the second winter and we are moving ahead in spite of all difficulties owing to the patriotic attitude of the working class and of the overwhelming majority of the working people, to the invaluable Soviet assistance, and to our fraternal cooperation with the other CEMA nations, we are gradually extricating ourselves from the stranglehold of the crisis.

But the country's general economic progress often is not felt by an individual citizen, and no wonder. People find it hard, they are tired and expecting improvement earlier than it is possible. The party, the government are doing and will do their utmost to meet their expectations. Poland is not a poor country, but it is temporarily in economic straits. It is up to us how fast we will overcome this. The better and more rigorously the rules of economic efficiency are observed, the faster and more tangible the expected improvement will be. This is the only way. Other slogans and relationships are illusive, misleading and demagogical. We have adopted the rule of making no promises in advance. Conversely, the rule of reckoning on less, while striving to achieve more. We had this assumption in mind as we set out the task for 1982 which was to check the production decline. This is how I put it as I summed up the deliberations of the 8th plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee.

Today, 1 year after, we can say that this task has been not only implemented, but overimplemented. The second half of the past year saw a slow but steady growth of industrial production and the appearance of many other favourable facts in productivity and exports -- when we moved into the black in our trade with capitalist countries for the first time since 1971 -- better supply of rationed products, the start that was made in phasing out rationing and the real chances for further steps to that end.

There is no way to fail underscoring that it is just from here, first of all, from the Silesian basin mines that the economy received the first invigorating impulse.

It was only in the wake of that impulse that we witnessed a production growth in other branches of the economy. For that effort, for the economic effects above the national average, I extend to your party organization and the whole Silesian basin community heartfelt thanks on behalf of the party leadership.

Owing to the stabilization of our country's situation, we could start work on the national socioeconomic plan for the years 1983-85. Work on the plan is coming to the end. For the first time in economic practice the plan-making was based on wide-ranging social consultation. The government will shortly submit the draft plan to the Sejm. When implemented, the plan should boost national income by 16 percent, industrial production by 15 percent, agricultural output by 10 percent, and the consumer index by 11 percent in 1985. This is a feasible prospect which is now shaping up. But we can achieve much more. There are still huge reserves residing in our society, in our economy.

Obviously the brunt of responsibility rests with the central-level organs. A good deal depends on how accurate their decisions are, how correct the newly applied mechanisms are and how consistent organization is. But of crucial importance is the activity of enterprises themselves, the direct production front, because we must not forget that the tasks of the 3-year plan are to be implemented in conditions of shortened working time, reduced shift-rotation, and expanded welfare rights to leaves.

The economic reform has considerably expanded the scope of self-dependence. This self-dependence means above all initiative and responsbility. There are many enterprises which understand this and efficiently operate in this spirit. I can mention here the Piast hard coal mine and the Lenin coal mine which have achieved a reduction of prime costs and a growth in labor productivity, the copper mining and metallurgical complex in Lubin, the Katowice steel mill, the A. Warski shipyard in Szczecin, the pharmaceutical factory Polfa in Grodzisk Mazowiecki, the 22 Lipca confectionary factory, the Bydgoszcz furniture factory, the sugar industry enterprises Gdansk and Szczecin, the state farm of Kietrz and many others. But, unfortunately, there are also many enterprises operating badly, which are incapable of taking advantage of the opportunities created by the economic reform. One can mention here, for example, the hard coal mine Nowy Wirek, the Zamosc furniture factory, the knitting industry factory Tawena, the Chojnow paper goods factory, the Tonsil loudspeakers factory, the Warsaw electric machines works Wamel, the house constructing enterprise Kom-Bud and others. Party bodies and organizations should approach this kind of negative phenomena with utter seriousness. The assessment should be followed by respective conclusions.

We have entered the second year of the economic reform. A report on its application and the to-date effects will be discussed on March 9 at a session of the Committee for Reform and next at a session of the Council of Ministers. Afterwards it will be submitted to the Sejm. We are looking closely and critically at the functioning of the reform. We are drawing conclusions from experience. Examples of this are modifications to some of its mechanisms and solutions put into effect on January 1, 1983.

It is worth emphasizing that the reform, which is sometimes forgotten, is not an aim in itself. It is a system, a mechanism, and a method designed to serve economic progress, higher efficiency of management, and greater participation of personnel in management and sharing responsibility for the attained effects. There are now many critics of the reform. Not infrequently they are the same, at home and abroad, who in 1981 were the most vocal proclaiming that the government was consciously delaying the reform and, even, had no plan to introduce it at all. We warned and said at the time that the preparations for and putting into effect up such a giant systemic operation entails the necessary amount of time and calls for definite conditions. We explained that it was not an elixir, a magic way capable of putting the economy instantly on its feet.

Figuratively speaking, our reform is a premature child, with all its peculiar weaknesses. But in its principles, it is right and effective. It needs to be strengthened, its mechanisms corrected wherever necessary and deformities counteracted. But, at the same time, it must not be forgotten that precisely during this difficult and virtually experimental year it became possible to attain progress difficult to imagine without the lever that the reform has helped to put into motion. All those faint-hearted, panic-stricken men and demagogues, who, by the way, are active in various spheres of our life, should take this seriously into consideration.

Our ship is sailing along a proper course. The ship of socialist renewal is unsinkable. Thus there is no use to look sideways. It is necessary to pull oneself together, cure the nerves, and cut short rumours and speculation. We are focusing unrelenting attention on the home market. In the first three quarters of 1982 there wss a certain improvement of purchasing conditions of the basic commodities, expecially food. But over the recent months, the danger of accelerated inflationary process has been looming large. We cannot allow this. The first favourable results in this respect became evident in January. But this will be a process. It will entail both rational wage increases linked to work productivity and efficient management, as well as indispensable moderate price rises, above all (?of luxury articles).

It is our intention to ensure that, summing up these undertakings, the effect will be gradual improvement of the living conditions of the working people. The obvious thing is that conditions are not going to be worse, they must be better. This is the central problem and the principal objective of the socialist income-pricing policy. In keeping with the party's intention, the government has tightened control over prices. Steps have been taken to curb the arbitrariness of enterprises and trade organizations. But we should not delude ourselves that the problem of prices can be solved largely with the use of formal rigours -- laws and regulations. In the final analysis, their level is determined by production costs. The key to solving this weighty question lies in the method of operation of enterprises, in the efficiency with which they utilize the productive factors.

The work is coming to an end on a comprehensive anti-inflation program. Its draft will be submitted to the Sejm next month. On the one hand, the essence of this program boils down to stimulating the rise in production for the market. On the other hand, it resolves itself into shaping the growth of social incomes so that they can fully meet the supplies of goods and services. The program of economies, also covering a sphere of the state budget, is an integral part of the anti-inflation program. We will reduce the previously planned budgetary expenditures, including those for maintaining the administration by further cutting it.

As for the questions of fighting inflation, the Central Committee receives many letters from members of the party and non-party people. Their authors present various proposals. They rightly point out that balancing the market cannot be attained only by rising prices. Similarly, this objective is not and will not be reached by a currency change-over. We appreciate these proposals and initiatives. We use them in everyday action.

I share an often voiced concern about correct reconciling of the principles of welfare policy with the requirements of the market equilibrium. It is worth recalling that the scope and the scale of social security benefits were considerably increased in 1982, an unusually difficult time. The average old-age pension, disability benefit, and children's allowance rose much more quickly than a wage. Expressed in this is the deeply humanistic nature of our socialist state which shields the economically weakest groups of population from the effects of crisis. We shall continue to conduct an active social policy making it, however, to fit in better with the genuine possibilities of the country.

Every zloty paid out without commodity equivalent tends to aggravate the market situation. An increasing proportion of society shares this view. Unfortunately, not infrequently it is not applied in practice. One very telling illustration of this phenomenon was the increase of the average wage in the fourth quarter and, especially, in December last year, far exceeding the actual growth of labor productivity.

Questions are being asked: How could it have been allowed to happen? Where have the appropriate ministries and banks been? This matter is now being scrutinized and investigated. The findings will make it possible to establish to what extent excessive payments were due to the incorrectly set economic mechanisms, and in what measure the defective operation of the enterprises' managements has been responsible. But before the results of the analyses are known, one cannot fail to draw attention to the fact that we have had to deal with almost drastic examples pointing to greediness and egoism of certain enterprises and even activity incompatible with the law. In such instances, appropriate decisions will be taken. This has been made known through the mass media. Luckily enough, these facts have not taken place on a massive scale. A decisive majority of the managerial cadres and middle-level management have proved that they are capable of interest, understand the assumptions of the reform, and know how to properly put it into effect.

Further progress in this field will be enhanced by examinations to test the comprehension of the reform already carried out at the central level and planned for the lower levels ending up with the enterprise, for the second quarter of this year.

Transformations in the functioning of the economy being carried out in Poland are designed to integrate the ethical values of socialism with motivation to efficient operation by units, groups of people, and the entire national economy. They make it possible to better utilize the extremely valuable properties of the socialist system, such as planning and the capability rationally to steer the socioeconomic processes.

A huge role is facing workers' self-managements. In most enterprises employee self-managements have either resumed their activities or are in the process of doing so. The development of self-management expresses the universal principle of the socialist system -- the principle of participation of the working people in direction of the state and the economy.

The living, creative initiative of the masses is the basic factor of the new community -- socialism is not created through orders from above. The official and bureaucratic automatism is alien to its spirit. The living, creative socialism is the work of the popular masses themselves. These words by Lenin have lost nothing of their topicality. They are the general guideline for the program of socialist construction in our country being implemented after the 9th congress.

At the discussion, comrades spoke about difficult problems of the Katowice Voivodship, negligence in its municipal infrastructure, and threats to its natural environment. The situation is really difficult. But I wish to stress that we are not passive to this situation.

Due to efforts of the party and administrative authorities of the voivodship, backed by the government appropriate decisions, better prospects are emerging. Some achievements, if only in the area of water supplies, have been scored. But, of course, the main problems are still facing us. The central authorities appreciate the problems of your agglomeration. We will make further efforts for its benefit. But in the present economic situation, they will naturally be limited and implemented in stages. What should we do? The lack of means cannot set us at ease.

The only rational solution to the country's economic problems is an escape forward to higher labor productivity and a system of strict economies, scientific and technical progress, discipline of labor and social activeness. Only in this way can we attain additional means -- that is, possibilities of alleviating and then meeting the most urgent social needs. The banner idea of socialism is social justice. It has become rooted deep in the consciousness of our society. That is why any departure from it arouses such a sharp criticism and protest. These departures occur in various fields. They are, however, most conspicuous in the economic sphere. Rapacious, dishonest ways to get rich, especially when working people live such a hard life, is a particularly glaring form of disrespect of the socialist sense of justice and morality, and is incompatible with the class principles of the socialist state.

The era of easy business must end. Concrete tasks have been set before respective ministries in this respect. Steps have been taken to control incomes more efficiently. The taxation policy will be amended. The aim is to create a system of correct and just taxation which, at the same time, will give the honestly working handicraft workshops a sense of stability. These problems are being considered at present with the Democratic Party.

Principles of activities of Polonian firms also require changing. We secure and shall continue to secure conditions for their activities, but they must take into account in their activities all-national and economic needs of the country. There should not be in our economy an enclave having unjustified privileges. The government has worked out adequate motions and moves in this respect.

With an eye to the often abused social interest, licences for small-shop agents will once again be verified during the months immediately to come.

The finance apparatus has been obligated to streamline control of all incomes, to firmly tighten fiscal rigors vis-a-vis all those who infringe on the regulations to derive unjustified profit. This apparatus is going through a sweeping reorganization in order to make it more effective. The treasury chambers and offices that have been set up should be an instrument that is effectively equipped to carry out the tasks assigned to the finance minister such as the fighting of tax offences, illegal incomes, unwarranted, excessive wealth accumulation.

The tax bill, whose draft the government will shortly submit to the Sejm, should become an important tool of control over the level of the population's incomes. As distinct from the solutions applied so far, the proposed tax system will cover all employees of the socialized economy and persons performing the learned professions whose incomes will exceed a definite annual income limit. The tax will progressively apply to such incomes irrespective of whether this will concern a worker, an artist or a prime minister. The current proposal is to withhold until 1985 the application of this tax to the remuneration of workers and technical supervision staff for work on free weekends and holidays. As notified earlier, we have introduced and are enforcing the principle under which employees of the party apparatus and state offices have the duty to make depositions on their estate status.

Legal measures alone cannot make the principles of social justice universally binding. After all, decisions on how to divide material goods, incomes, premiums, bonuses, and special awards are made every day in enterprises, cooperative organizations, and institutions. They decide on whether the observance of this principle agrees with what the society expects. Unfortunately, distortions and malpractices occur in this domain. Because of them practice often departs from the socialist norms. A united front of party organizations, trade unions, and workers self-managements is needed to fight such infringements.

All this is one side of the coin. But the society and the economy also sustains huge losses in various other areas. Mismanagement, waste, swindles, thefts, acts of vandalism are the characteristic forms of wrong-doing which we will fight uncompromisingly. Particularly dangerous is the activity of cliques and gangs of thieves, currency offences, illegal deals between private businesses and socialized economy units, as well as the manifold forms of speculation.

We must not agree to any part of the national property being misappropriated or wasted. The control, prosecution, and administration of justice organs are obliged to institute vigorous measures and make them more efficacious. This will be facilitated by the streamlining and tightening of the control system and by recent normative acts and more stringent legal solutions especially to counteract cases of speculation, bribery, and housing mismanagement. Apart from the stronger penal and economic reprisals, the perpetrators of economic offences should now be much more widely liable to the additional penalty now envisaged in the penal code -- namely to the forfeiture of the right to fill posts in the state and economic apparatus.

We reckon that our struggle against all kinds of anomalies will be supported by the people's councils and their commissions, as well as the trade unions, employee self-management organs, workers inspection teams, and housing estate committees. Such criminal instances can be curbed and overcome more effectively by the representatives of society more widely joining in and supporting respective actions by the state services. This is what should be expected of the party members in particular.

With this in mind I turn to all party committees and organizations to evaluate together with non-party people the extent of the threat and to adopt respective conclusions during the immediate weeks. The same should be said about the problems of fighting alcoholism, juvenile demoralization, and social acts of the Sejm directed against such pathological phenomena.

Even if we devote so much attention to those painful matters, it does not mean that the situation is developing unfavourably, that we are worse than the others. Suffice it to review the world, notably Western, statistics, to avoid giving in to pessimistic evaluations and judgements. Our society is sane; however, marginal ills are sometimes sizeable. The whole social pathology is nothing new, but we take a new look at it today. At one time these phenomena were treated in a shameful way, while a number of them were not mentioned in public. We have removed the curtain, we show them, evaluate and stigmatize. Therefore, one can have the impression that the danger has magnified. But in fact it is the range of information that has increased.

Along with it, the degree of detecting them must grow and is growing. So is the effectiveness of counteractions, their social base, control and support. This is what matters. This is the area where we want and have to speed up and deepen the renewal process. "Let our house, raised from a cemetery....be clean". And their class international context is the ideological-political duty of every party member.

Burdened as we have been with the problems of our daily life, we have given too much room to the opponent in this particular area. Too often we explain ourselves, too seldom we ourselves ask questions. We often lose sight of the achievements and development of other countries of real socialism. We give a cursory treatment to the sharply swelling problems of developed capitalist countries. We forget about the situations of the working people in the countries which bear the after-effects of the colonial or the burden of the neocolonial exploitation. The beautiful words such as "freedom", "democracy", human rights" alone actually mean nothing as long as they are not accompanied by the explication of whom they serve, what class, what social group, what type of state.

It is not accidental that such notions precisely are preached by all subversive Western radio stations. One must continually ask the question who bankrolls this and why. Why is it that just now the propaganda aggression against the socialist countries has been stepped up? Part of it are such spicy examples as broadcasts in the Ukrainian language. They devote plenty of attention to glorifying the fascist UPA [Ukrainian Insurrection Army] bands who are guilty of murdering thousands of Poles, among others. Even a monument has been erected in the West to those Hitlerite thugs and collaborators. But broadcasts in Polish beamed by the same American radio station do not carry any information on this subject. Every day supplies dozens of such examples for human rights defence.

Only people who are incorrigibly dogged or naive and deprived of the ability to associate facts can fail to notice a cynical calculation to weaken socialism and to stir up an adventure in the heart of Europe in this propaganda. However, the main line of action of the contemporary imperialism is an attempt to upset equilibrium on the global scale. This is an intention to reverse the historic changes accomplished as a result of World War II. This tendency has been developing in an especially dangerous way over the past few years.

It is enough to compare the present state of international relations with the one of 10 years ago to perceive that as internal contradictions of the capitalist system, within individual countries and between groups of the world capital, aggravate, a transition to an aggressive stage in relations with socialist countries takes place. The main locomotive on this track is the U.S. and, strictly speaking, the most reactionary groups of the American capital represented by the present administration. I characterized the U.S. anti-Polish policy in Jastrzebie last December. I confirm that the future of Polish-U.S. ties depends primarily on whether the U.S. Government returns to observing the universally binding international norms and agreements.

I would like today to devote some attention to the policy of the FRG, some aspects of which have recently inspired our indignation and firm protest. We cannot fail to see that within the West German power elite, and by no means in the outskirts but in the very centre of a huge political party, there linger hopes for "taking revenge on Poland" and they are being voiced in public.

Legal formulas sound more elegant, but it is not the formulas but the heart of the matter that is the point. And this is exactly what we can understand perfectly well in Poland. Europe listened 5 decades back to the then chancellor of the reich, who assured that he intended to implement his territorial claims exclusively through peaceful means.

Let nobody count on short memory on our part. The old theses of the former and present Hakata [anti-Polish group founded in 1894 in Poznan] followers says that the weaker and the more plunged in disputes and problems Poland is, the greater the hopes to revise or settle something at its expense. The enlivening of revanchist calculations once again clearly reminds us of the indivisible unity of the socialist and national premises for our statehood.

It is an iron truth of history and contemporaneity that no Poland but a socialist one could safely exist in the old Polish territories in Silesia, Pomerania, Warmia, and the Mazurian Lake district. Today more than ever before the truth has been clearly confirmed that as internal stability in Poland is related to peace and security throughout Europe, so the inviolability of our borders is not merely a Polish affair but an organic component of European detente and peace. Objectively speaking, Poland's internal and external security lies in the interest of all realistically-minded forces oriented to peaceful coexistence.

We desire normal and even close relations with all countries irrespective of their social system. Obviously, it also applies to the FRG. This found a convincing expression in the treaty of 1970 and in the years which followed its signing.

We are not possessed by any obsession or any exaggerated vindictiveness. The truth, however, is that from time to time territorial claims addressed to us are being raised. We are not the ones who bring the matter to the fore time and again. It is those forces in the Federal Republic which consider themselves heirs to the Third Reich who do so.

We are not going to ignore the revanchist relapse or approach it as just another course extravagance. However, we can see it in due proportions, as for the first time in our history we have a durable and infallible political-and-military guarantee. Our borders are guarded by the strong Polish Army. Moreover, they are guarded by the Soviet Army, whose 65th anniversary we are going to celebrate tomorrow. Together with the other armies of the members of the Warsaw Pact it guards the territorial integrity of our commonwealth. In this way it also follows the last will of the 600,000 Soviet soldiers fallen on the Bug and Oder Rivers. This truth has to be reiterated persistently.

Poland has to be a socialist state to be able to be Poland. Only such a state can count on warrants of our alliances and can secure for the Polish nation its being the host of its own independent home.

Thank you, dear comrades, for your attention in listening to my remarks and thoughts. On behalf of the Central Committee Politburo I cordially wish further achievements for the party organization, and the entire community of the Katowice Voivodship, new goals in the struggle, and work for the good of our fatherland, the Polish Peoples Republic. [applause]

PAP SUMMARY OF DRAFT PRON DECLARATION

LD161828 Warsaw PAP in English 1451 GMT 16 Feb 83

["Draft PRON Declaration (Summary)" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Feb -- The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] is an answer to the social need and will to promote rebirth, national accord, and democratic repair of the republic. It creates political possibilities to act for all citizens willing to improve and strengthen the sovereign, independent, socialist Polish state within secure borders.

We are acting under the gravest political, economic, social and moral crisis in our state since the Second World War. The crisis came as a result of the discrepancy between the principles of socialism and the ways of putting them into [word indistinct]

It was not only [words indistinct] of exercising power that produced the crisis. The crisis was and is due to negative social phenomena, namely:

-- Lack of understanding for the needs of the state,

-- Low professional ethics,

-- Lack of respect for common and private property,

-- A notorious record of social plagues like the crime rate, corruption, alcoholism, drug addition, and poor effects of war against them,

-- Extensive areas of social indifference.

The removal of the causes and effects of the crisis depends on the need to reform the mechanism and methods of exercising power and also on the nagging need for the rebirth of civic attitude perceived as a duty to the nation and the state.

In its ideological principles, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth draws on progressive, patriotic, democratic, and socialist patterns of the Polish [word indistinct] ideas formed throughout the history of the Polish Republic, on the manifesto issued by the Polish Committee of National Liberation, PKWN [as received], on all the humanist values which socialism created in the consciousness and attitudes of Poles.

We are aware of that social agreements of August 1980 came as a result of the working class's right and effective protest against the distortions in the implementation of the principles of socialism and not against socialism itself. Irrespective of the deformities which occured later on, the value of those agreements consisted not in individual paragraphs, some of which [words indistinct]

The idea of agreement and socialist renewal was formulated in the resolutions of the 9th PUWP Congress, 8th Congress of the UPP, the 12th Congress of the DP, and in programme documents drawn up by the PAX Association, the Christian Social Association CHSS, and the PZKS Lay Catholics Association. The ideas included in them form the programme line of our movement.

This ensures from our conviction that the PUWP is the guarantee of socialist development. It fulfills a leading role in society and state in a partner-like alliance with the UPP and DP, and in constructive cooperation with lay Catholic and Christian Associations which acknowledged the systems principles of socialist Poland.

The following are the ideals which we consider superior:

-- Social justice expressed through the creation of equal chances for all citizens to participate in public life,

-- People's rule, as the citizens' actual share in exercising power through representation bodies, territorial, exployee, and vocational self-management, social organizations, etc.,

-- The rule of law and the sense of civic responsibility, which require the promotion of political and legal culture, and strict observance of law by state organs and citizens,

-- Respect for human dignity and tolerance for the world outlook,

-- Dialogue and agreement as a method for overcoming divergent striving and interests,

-- Respect for work and its fruit.

In our opinion there is no other way for Poland than the socialist way, and there is no fuller guarantee of independence than the alliance with the Soviet Union and the membership of the socialist community.

Our movement is open. We want to win over all citizens and organizations for our ideas -- those who want a national rebirth and agreement.

We are an opinion-making body cooperating on the principles of partnership with the state organs, parties, self-managements and social organizations. However, our role does not boil down to registering the views of society, we want to have part in shaping them. We want to exert an influence on both the attitudes of those who power and on the attitudes of the society.

We want to help the citizens take effective part in the public life at various levels of authority -- on the scale of the state, region, city village or work establishment.

We are not an institution of the authority nor do we usurp for ourselves the right to execute authority vis a vis the state organs, self-managements or social and political organizations.

Members of political parties and Catholic associations have no privileges in the movement.

In relation to the state administration organs we have the right to voice initiatives and postulates and have monitoring rights within a range to be defined in appropriate legal acts.

In relation to the Sejm and people's councils we have a triple role.

-- The PRON forum is the scene of discussion about the candidates for parliamentary deputies and councillors.

-- The movement makes it easier for voters to evaluate the work of Sejm deputies and councillors.

-- The movement initiates the social process of law-making and organizes consultation on the draft laws.

Self-managements and social organizations can present their views at the movement's forum, defend their interests and seek support. We are not striving to win a monopoly in social initiatives. We shall endorse those organizations which, acting within the frames of the constitutional legal order, are a form of the society's self-organization.

In line with the assumptions of the July 20, 1982, declaration defining PRON's position in the political system of the Polish People's Republic, we are setting the following tasks for ourselves:

-- Democratization of the methods of government,

-- Creation of social premises for the democratization of public life,

-- Preparation and handling of elections to the organs of representation,

-- Organization and expression of public opinion,

-- Creation of conditions for dialogue and agreement,

-- Broadening of the social base of government and management,

-- Activity in favour of the nation's moral and civic rebirth,

-- Work in favour of shaping human environment,

-- Activity in favour of peace and international cooperation,

-- Endorsement of cooperation between the country and Polish communities abroad.

Our activity is guided by current and long-term goals. Among the current goals we include:

-- Concentration of the efforts of society and the authorities on overcoming the present crisis and implementation of the economic reform,

-- Creation of social, political and economic premises for a fast and final lifting of martial law in Poland.

As the long-term goals we consider:

-- Concentration of the nation's majority on the work for the homeland, for the understanding of the Polish reason of state and the principles of political realism,

-- Consistent realization of the socialist renewal,

-- Release of lasting social activeness, civic initiative growth of the subjective position of citizens and their responsibility for state matters,

-- Prevention of the recurrence of political crises by imparting real contents to the principle of bond between authority and society.

PRON is getting formed and develops in a complicated situation which we believe is changing in a direction which is positive for Poland.

DEMONSTRATION BY YOUTHS IN KRAKOW REPORTED

LD181849 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 18 Feb 83

[Text] Yesterday there was calm throughout the country, including all establishments of higher education. Only in Krakow in the late hours of the evening did attempts at disturbing public order take place. The instigators and organizers of the disturbances tried to use the second anniversary of the registration of the former Independent Association of Students [NZS] as a pretext for their activities. After leaving the church of Dominican Fathers, groups of youths assembled outside the Collegium Novum of Jagiellonian University. One group of young people left the gathering after a few minutes, but a group of about 600 people continued disturbing the calm and moved toward another part of the city. Participants in the gathering dispersed after being urged to do so by the forces of order. No force was used.

PROSECUTOR HALTS INVESTIGATION OF KPN ACTIVISTS

LD182101 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 18 Feb 83

[Text] Since September 1980, prosecution bodies and the security service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have been conducting penal proceedings against the activists and those taking part in the activity of the so-called Confederation for Independent Poland [KPN].

Last year, by virtue of the verdict passed by the Warsaw Military District, Leszek Moczulski and other members of the KPN leadership were sentenced to many years' imprisonment.

During further investigation into this case it has been ascertained that other activists and participants in the activity of the KPN and other cells created by this organization, against whom proceedings are being conducted, had no influence on the actions of the KPN leadership and abandoned their activities in the cells of this illegal union.

Guided by these findings, on the basis of the decree of 12 December 1981 on clemency and consignment to oblivion of certain crimes and transgressions, the prosecutor of the Warsaw Military District, at the request of the investigations bureau of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, has quashed the investigation against six activists of the illegal union called the KPN and the cells created by it. He has also abandoned extending the investigation to 40 other participants in the activity of local cells of the KPN. The persons to whom the prosecutor's decision applies include workers of Warsaw and Poznan work enterprises.

The KPN activists have pledged that they will observe the legal order and respect the principles of social coexistence.

Penal proceedings, which will be shortly referred to courts, are still in progress with regard to other activists and participants in the activity of the KPN who have committed crimes which do not come under the decree on the abolition or introduction of martial law.

PAP REPORTS EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS, SITUATION

LD210034 Warsaw PAP in English 1711 GMT 20 Feb 83

[Text] Warsaw 20 Feb -- Shortage of manpower is the major obstacle for production growth in many enterprises in Poland; although in some others excessive employment is noted.

Over 278,000 vacancies were recorded in Polish enterprises last January, 12 per cent more than last December and almost 2.5 times more than in January 1982. At the same time, employment agencies registered only 8,000 job seekers.

Manpower resources have diminished recently and a slight increase is expected to occur only in the next few years to come.

On the other hand, according to employment prognoses for 1983, in some regions in the second half of this year it might be difficult for school leaves to find a job.

This year the overall employment in the socialized economy is to drop by 80,000 persons, mainly in industry (except for fuel and [word indistinct] chemical and light industry) and building.

At the same time employment will grow in health service and welfare, transport and communications, education, as well as handicraft and services in private-owned farms.

JOINT COMMISSION DISCUSSES POPE'S VISIT

LD220715 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 21 Feb 83

[Text] Another session of the joint commission of government and Episcopate representatives took place in Warsaw today.

A working discussion was held on the matters of program, duration, and route of the second visit of John Paul II to Poland in June of this year. Relevant decisions were given initial approval. The commission also discussed the state of preparations to the visit currently undertaken throughout Poland.

DAILY ON POSITIVE, NEGATIVE PARTY FEATURES

AU201555 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 16 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "Authority Does Not Result From Making Declarations"]

[Text] Some aspects of the activity of party auditing and control bodies have been described by Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the PZPR Central Auditing Commission, in an interview with a PAP reporter.

The chairman stressed that since the Ninth PZPR Congress, all the control activity of the auditing commissions has been carried out strictly according to the letter and spirit of the decisions of the congress. This activity has been the logical outcome of the party's entire policy aimed at overcoming the crisis quickly and effectively, speeding up the party's internal rebirth process, increasing its strength and ideological-organizational cohesiveness, and deepening the community's confidence in the party and the party's authority in the community. Since the ninth congress, over 5,000 kinds of checks have been carried out in Central Committee departments, voivodship committees, and local party cells, especially primary party organizations.

Special attention was devoted to the way the party reacts to the comments, demands, letters and complaints of citizens. This is also why a thorough analysis has been made of the way in which the conclusions drawn during precongress discussion and during the congress itself have been thoroughly analyzed. An appropriate auditing report covering 36 voivodships has been presented to the party leadership. Checks have also been carried out in those spheres of party life where correctness in implementing resolutions and decisions is an absolute condition to restoring party cohesiveness.

Important checks have also been made on internal party matters. The changes in the number of socioprofessional structure of party members were analyzed, and the way in which primary-level party cells implement statutory tasks was examined. Valuable experience has been provided by the comprehensive checks carried out jointly with the Armed Forces Inspectorate. This has served to gain a fuller picture of the sociopolitical situation in individual voivodships and to precisely establish the causes and sources of various weaknesses.

In reply to a question about the party's present conditions, Kazimierz Morawski indicated that many positive trends have accumulated, but negative phenomena are still present and even recurring.

One ought to recognize the programmatic precision and clarity of political intentions and will displayed by a party functioning "with a raised curtain" today as an exceptionally positive phenomenon. The form of dialogue with the community has changed, and joint activity between the party and the ZSL, SD, and citizen's groups has deepened.

To suit the needs of today, actions aimed at overcoming the economic crisis and inspiring further democratic transformations have preference. Many opinions gathered during the checks indicate that the party aktivs are becoming increasingly bold and the party cells are displaying more and more initiative. Negative phenomena include a return to routine and tendencies to make hasty generalizations that success has already been achieved. There are still many party organizations whose activity is characterized by a kind of "resolution mania." There is still a lack of honesty and consistency in implementing decisions and resolutions.

The possibilities inherent in social bodies and commissions are not being fully used. All bodies of this kind -- social commissions and teams inside party cells -- can and should be real joint creators of the party's daily activities.

The Central Auditing Commission chairman stressed that the party situation could be improved more quickly and its rebirth process speeded up if noble political and social intentions were turned into concrete activity everywhere.

Party language must be made constantly clearer and deeds more practical. Some aktivs still shun new forms and methods of action.

Finally, K. Morawski drew attention to the fact that every proposal which serves to improve auditing activities and propagate self-control within the party is being carefully analyzed. These proposals are also being announced during the PZPR accountability and programmatic campaign which is nearing its end and during voivodship report-back conferences.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY ON ROLE OF EMIGRE FIRMS

AU171300 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Feb 83 p 6

[Article signed 'CH': "Polonian Firms, the Myths and the Reality"]

[Text] The activity of Polonian firms has recently become more a subject of emotional criticism and generalization of separate facts than a subject of honest analysis. It has reached the stage where these firms, employing a total of 12,000 workers among them, are accused of upsetting the labor market and making it impossible to pursue a proper personnel policy toward socialized enterprises, which possess an army of employees numbering well over 12 million.

This does not mean that the unfavorable phenomena which are occurring, the rapacity of some owners of these firms, and the application of principles which have been brought over from another system do not warrant criticism. This was spoken about by Minister Wieslaw Adamski, chairman of the Polish-Polonian Chamber of Trade and Industry and government plenipotentiary for contacts with Poles abroad, at a 14 February meeting which was meant to inaugurate a new body. This new body is the Socioeconomic Council of the Mazowsze Division of the Inter-Polcom Polish-Polonian Chamber of Trade and Industry, and is composed both of representatives of Polonian firms and representatives of the administrative authorities of Warsaw and of the Wroclaw, Radom, Skierniewice, Ostroleka, Lomza, Ciechanow, and Plock Voivodships. The council is supposed to be the kind of forum able to analyze phenomena and direct the activity of Polonian enterprises in such a way that their owners are ensured advantages and at the same time this activity meets the interests of society and the socialist state.

It seems that this kind of activity will be more effective than wholesale condemnation and the creation of an atmosphere like the one at present, where local authorities have quite simply stopped giving permission for the activity of Polonian firms.

In the meantime, various official declarations ranging from legal acts to government decisions and connected with the 3-year program of activity by Polonian firms still assume that firms set up in Poland with foreign capital, particularly Polonian capital, will achieve support. After all, when one disregards the particularly blatant violations of principles and the exceptional rapacity connected with these firms, which of course also occur in socialized enterprises, then it is clear that a well-aimed development of Polonian firms may help us solve many of our problems more quickly.

Of course this is no panacea for the crisis nor a prescription for solving many of our economic problems. Still, the example set by such Inter-Polcom divisions as the Mazowsze division, which incorporates 105 enterprises in several voivodships, shows that we are having success in making these enterprises produce for the sake of cutting imports, and their foreign currency capital is making it easier for many key fatories to produce goods through mutual supplies of materials. The production of drugs is also developing, and there are development plans for production in the following areas: medical equipment, pharmaceutical goods, plant protection chemicals, shoes, and other goods. All of these would be produced with resources which have not been used up to now.

There is reason to believe that the council, at whose head is Jerzy Mlokosiewicz, chairman of the SD Executive Committee, will help both synchronize the above activity with the needs of a given region and resolve many misunderstandings. For one representative of a Polonian firm has said that he has everything ready to start producing drugs and glues which are much sought after on our market. What is missing is only the authorities' permission to commence this production.

WIEJACZ PRESENTS ANSWER TO SWEDISH PROPOSAL

LD181235 Warsaw PAP in English 1120 GMT 18 Feb 83

["Foreign Ministry Statement" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw 18 Feb -- On December 8, 1982, Sweden turned, through diplomatic channels, to a number of states, including Poland, with a proposal to consider the purposefulness and possibility to set up a nuclear weapons-free zone. On February 18, 1983, Polish Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Wiejacz received Sweden's Ambassador in Warsaw Knut Thyberg and handed him a note containing Poland's position on this matter, stating i.a.:

Poland is traditionally interested in setting up atom-free zones in Europe and the world, as well as in other zone and regional solutions, aimed at limiting or reduction of nuclear and conventional armaments. This end was served by Polish initiatives, including the Rapacki plan, which provided for setting up an atom-free zone in central Europe, as well as by actions at the forum of the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe and by the activeness at the Madrid meeting of representatives of the states-parties to the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, in favour of organizing a conference on the confidence-building measures, security and disarmament in Europe.

Poland views the upholding of the NATO decision on deployment at the end of 1983 of new American intermediate nuclear rockets on the territories of a number of West European states as the greatest danger posed to Europe. So the prevention of this new phase of nuclear arms race in Europe is of essential importance and the Polish Government would welcome Sweden's activeness in this matter. The recent proposals of the soviet Union are another constructive step which should bring in progress in the Soviet-American negotiations held on this subject in Geneva, if it is reciprocated by the United States.

Poland believes that the best solution serving the interests of security of all the interested states would be a complete ridding Europe of nuclear arms, both of the intermediate range and tactical weapons (including theatre arms). This stand was expressed in the Political Declaration of the conference of the Consultative Political Committee of the states parties to the Warsaw Treaty adopted in Prague on January 5, 1983. In that same declaration, Poland and other participants of the conference came out in favour of the proposals to create atom-free zones in northern Europe, in the Balkans and in other parts of the continent as well as to hold appropriate negotiations on these issues.

The proposal of the Swedish Government to create a zone free from theatre nuclear weapons in Europe, stretching from central Europe to the furthermost northern and southern flanks of both political military alliances, is a step in the right direction. Therefore, the Government of the Polish People's Republic looks at it with great interest and voices its willingness to take part in the talks on the establishment of the proposed zone.

Taking into account Poland's geographical location as well as the range parameters of theatre nuclear weapons and the ensuing threats, the Polish Government thinks that:

- The width of such a zone should not be 300 kilometres but considerably more in order to make its military significance effective. Respecting the principle of equal security, the zone could include a significant part of the territory of the Polish People's Republic.

- The creation of the zone would be started from central Europe, making use of the fact that negotiations on the reduction of arms and armaments in the region are held in Vienna.

U.S. MANEUVERS OFF LIBYA 'UNFRIENDLY GESTURE'

LD191257 Warsaw PAP in English 0713 GMT 19 Feb 83

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Feb (PAP) -- ZYCIE WARSZAWY said that the announced manoeuvres of the U.S. Navy in the Gulf of Sidra is "Washington's another show of force vis-a-vis Libya", "a new unfriendly gesture" on the part of the United States towards that country.

"Any pretext is good for the United States. When two years ago the Americans sent their warships to that gulf for the first time, it was to be in answer to an alleged sending of a Libyan commando 'to kill President Reagan'. At present, the aim is to arrest invented preparations for a Libyan attack on Sudan. In reality, Washington wants to demonstrate to the world, and above all to its African allies that the United States 'can do everything'. If this policy contributes to increased tension in northern Africa, the American politicans care little about it."

SCIENTIST ON COOPERATION PROBLEMS WITH U.S.

LD192310 Warsaw PAP in English 1410 GMT 17 Feb 83

[Text] Warsaw 17 Feb -- In a TV programme devoted to scientific cooperation between Poland and the United States broadcast today immediately after the main evening news bulletin, Dr Zbigniew Prochot, director of the Polish Academy of Sciences' Office for Cooperation With Foreign Countries, said: "The Polish Government's decision of 14 December 1982 on reviewing of the scope and procedure governing scientific cooperation with the United States has triggered off a propaganda campaign in the United States which blames Poland for all restrictions which are the sole effect of American sanctions."

Dr. Prochot quoted numerous examples which indicate that restrictions in scientific cooperation were unilaterally introduced by the American side long before announcement of the Polish Government decision, and even before the declaration of martial law. "All our actions," said Dr. Prochot, "are a defence of the interests of Polish science. Given a limited scope of cooperation, we must make a careful selection to concentrate on priorities only. In this connection, the Polish Academy of Sciences has prepared a proposal naming the most important fields of science to which our cooperation will have to be restricted."

RAKOWSKI COMMENTS ON VISIT TO HUNGARY 16-20 FEB

LD210008 Warsaw PAP in English 2022 GMT 20 Feb 83

[By PAP correspondent Andrzej Czerkawski]

[Text] Budapest 20 Feb -- Poland's Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski paid a visit to Hungary on February 16-20 at the invitation of Political Bureau member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Deputy Prime Minister Istvan Sarlos. Vice-Premier Rakowski was accompanied by minister for trade unions, Stanislaw Ciosek.

During his stay in Hungary Mieczyslaw Rakowski was received by HSWP CC First Secretary Janos Kadar.

Vice-Premier Rakowski had also talks with members of the leadership of the Hungarian party, government and trade unions; Political Bureau member, HSWP CC Secretary Gyorgy Aczel, HSWP CC Political Bureau member, Vice-Premier Istvan Sarlos and HSWP CC Political Bureau member, general secretary of National Council of trade unions, Sandor Gaspar.

"Our stay in Hungary was devoted chiefly to getting acquainted with problems and activities of trade unions. The Hungarian trade unions have many interesting forms and methods of work. They enjoy high prestige in the world," Mieczyslaw Rakowski said in a statement for the Polish press agency PAP and TRYBUNA LUDU, made in conclusion of his visit to Hungary.

"We held many interesting talks and meetings," Mieczyslaw Rakowski went on. "In the Institute of the National Council of Trade Unions we acquainted ourselves with very interesting sociological research in the field of trade union problematique. Keen assessment and conclusions drawn from them help Hungarian comrades in constant search for ever more efficient forms and methods of trade union work," Rakowski continued.

"These problems are also in the center of attention of the Hungarian political leadership which strives to constantly develop and consolidate democratic relations in all spheres of life."

Mieczyslaw Rakowski stressed great interest in Hungary in Poland's social and political siutation. "Questions we were asked were marked by concern and the feeling of co-responsibility for what is going on in our socialist community," Rakowski said.

"This was reflected during meetings with members of the Hungarian party and government leadership. Satisfaction was expressed at the fact that the process of normalization in our country, although not undisturbed, brings visible results both for Poland and the other states of the socialist community," Rakowski continued.

"This cordial, friendly interest in Polish matters has been for us one more proof of community, unity and fraternity. Such an atmosphere marked also the meeting with HSWP CC First Secretary Janos Kadar who expressed his satisfaction at the constant, all-round development of relations between our two countries.

"Janos Kadar pointed out that all actions of the Hungarian party and government are undertaken with an eye to the problems of man and that the most important criterion of evaluating people is their present posture."

Summing up, Mieczyslaw Rakowski stressed that the Hungarian visit was very useful. "We have made many important and necessary observations and gathered much experience," Rakowski concluded.

PAP REPORTS ON COMMUNIQUE ON PAX, CDU TALKS

LD161849 Warsaw PAP in English 1433 GMT 16 Feb 83

[Text] Warsaw 16 Feb -- Poland and the GDR, "as neighbors and partners within the Warsaw Treaty Organization are united by the determination to consistently cooperate in the struggle for the preservation of peace in the world," a communique on the talks between the PAX and GDR's CDU delegation here said which was printed by the Catholic daily SLOWO POWSZECHNE today.

The PAX Association's delegation headed by PAX President Zenon Komender and the CDU delegation headed by the union's chairman Gerald Goetting stressed the significance of lasting friendly relations between the two countries for the further development of socialism in both countries and for strengthening the socialist community, the communique said.

The sides also noted that cooperation between the two countries has enlivened since the visit to the GDR by the Polish party and state delegation headed by General Jaruzelski in March 1982.

The PAX and CDU delegations described the Prague declaration of the Warsaw Pact states as "a significant contribution to the consolidation of peace as opposed to the strivings of aggressive circles in the United States and within NATO to step up confrontation and the arms race," the document said.

"In particular, the proposal to conclude a treaty on renouncing the use of force and on setting up peaceful relations between Warsaw Pact and NATO countries points to the only feasible and reasonable way towards hampering the arms race and continuing the process of detente," the communique said.

Mr Komender, who briefed the CDU guests on the current situation in Poland declared that "the patriotic forces within the Polish nation, basing on the socialist stand, are determined to pursue the way of national rebirth and gradually overcome the effects of the socioeconomic crisis," according to the communique.

"Members of the PAX Association, being guided by the fundamental principle of the triple patriotic, socialist, and Christian commitment, take an active part in the formation of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, PRON, structures, and at the side of the workers' party are taking part in the coalition alignment of people's rule at all levels," the communique said.

USSR ARMY GENERAL ATTENDS WARSAW CELEBRATION

LD182241 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 17 Feb 83

[Text] Celebrations of the 65th anniversary of the Soviet Army continue. This year they coincide with the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Army, which falls in October. A soiree has taken place at the Warsaw Military District headquarters. Army General Afanasiy Shcheglov, representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact to the Polish Army, participated.

A soiree also took place in Legnica. Representatives of the main board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, the voivodship leaders, and representatives of the headquarters of the Northern Group of Forces of the Soviet Army participated. A group of Soviet officers were decorated with gold honorary badges of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society and "Merited for the Legnica Voivodship" badges.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES WARSAW PACT CHIEF KULIKOV

AU181823 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 18 Feb 83

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and supreme commander of the Armed Forces, today received Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact countries. The meeting was attended by Col Gen Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defense.

The guest extended to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu cordial greetings and best wishes for success in his entire activity on behalf of Comrade Yuriy Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and Comrade Dmitriy Ustinov, marshal of the Soviet Union and USSR minister of defense. Thanking the guest, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asked him to extend to Comrade Yuriy Andropov and Comrade Dmitriy Ustinov warm greetings and best wishes for health and successes in their activity.

On this occasion the sides conducted a talk which proceeded in a warm and comradely atmosphere.

CEAUSESCU, HUSAYN HOLD TALKS, ISSUE COMMUNIQUE

Concluding Talks 18 Feb

AU181638 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 18 Feb 83

[Text] Official talks between President Nicolae Ceausescu and King Husayn of Jordan concluded this morning. In this last round, the two heads of state pointed out with satisfaction the fruitful results of their talks which proceeded in an atmosphere of warm friendship and mutual understanding, characteristic of the Romanian-Jordanian summit dialogue. They expressed the conviction that this new meeting and the understandings reached on this occasion will open up new prospects for developing relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and peoples in the political, economic, scientific-technical, and cultural fields, to the benefit of the economic development of Romania and Jordan and in the interest of the progress and prosperity of the Romanian and Jordanian peoples.

At the same time, they expressed the determination of Romania and Jordan to actively cooperate at the international level and to contribute, through joint efforts, to constructively resolving complex problems currently facing mankind, attaining the legitimate aspirations for freedom, independence, progress, and wellbeing of all peoples and building a better and more just world.

The two heads of state also decided to continue the high-level Romanian-Jordanian contacts and stressed their importance for continuously developing relations between our countries and peoples and for the cause of peace, detente and cooperation in the world.

Joint Communique

AU211646 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Feb 83 p 6

["Joint communique" on the visit to Romania of Jordan's King Husayn 17-18 February]

[Text] At the invitation of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, His Majesty King Husayn of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan paid a friendship visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania 17-18 February 1983.

During the visit, the distinguished Jordanian guest and his aides were extended a cordial reception as an expression of the good relations of cooperation and collaboration in many areas between Romania and Jordan, and of the mutual feelings of friendship, esteem, and respect between the two peoples.

President of the Socialist Republic of Romania Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and King Husayn of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan had official talks which took place in a cordial atmosphere of complete understanding and mutual respect.

During their talks, the sides expressed their satisfaction with this new Romanian-Jordanian summit meeting which gave them an opportunity to continue the fruitful dialogue between the Romanian president and the Jordanian king. The two heads of state expressed their determination to maintain close contacts with a view to promoting and developing the relations between their countries.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and King Husayn stressed their satisfaction with the intensification and diversification of the relations of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation between Romania and Jordan in political, economic, cultural, scientific-technical and other areas of mutual interest, and decided to take further resolute steps to markedly intensify these relations, especially in the area of commercial exchanges and economic cooperation. The two heads of state recommended that in the future attention be particularly focused on the fields of oil, chemical industry, energy, mining, means of transportation, and agriculture -- both by expanding participation in joint projects and programs under way and by studying key new projects. They emphasized the importance of the activities of the joint Romanian-Jordanian governmental Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation, and agreed that at its next session -- scheduled to be held in Amman in March 1983 -- the commission establish a joint program of actions to implement the important objectives and projects established by the Romanian president and the king of Jordan at their meeting in Amman in June 1982. The session should also study ways of expanding the legal framework of bilateral relations.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and King Husayn of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan exchanged detailed views on major current international affairs, particularly in connection with international peace and security; settling interstate disputes through peaceful means; the situation in the Middle East and efforts to achieve a general solution and a just and lasting peace in that area; security and cooperation in Europe; eliminating the gaps between poor and rich countries and establishing a new world economic order; establishing urgent disarmament measures, primarily nuclear disarmament, and in connection with the need to increase the participation and efficiency of small- and medium-sized states in settling international problems.

The two heads of state expressed satisfaction with the results of the visit and with their talks, as well as their conviction that this new summit meeting will be an important contribution to and will further expand and intensify the friendly cooperation and will deepen the collaboration between the two countries at both bilateral and international levels.

King Husayn of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan expressed heartfelt thanks to President of the Socialist Republic of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu on his own and his aides' behalf for the warm reception and special hospitality extended to them during their friendship visit to Bucharest, and cordially invited the Romanian head of state to pay an official friendship visit to Jordan. The invitation was accepted with pleasure; a date will be set later.

Bucharest, 18 February 1983

CEAUSESCU INTERVIEW ON FOREIGN, DOMESTIC POLICY

AU171330 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0900 GMT 17 Feb 83

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's interview with the daily INFORMATION of Denmark" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 17/2/1983 -- In the interview he granted to the Danish daily INFORMATION, an interview which the Romanian press on February 17 reproduces, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu approached a series of current international questions, as well as aspects of the Romanian home policy. In this connection, he said:

Tendencies in the International Life and the Prospects of a New Policy

A general characteristic is the confrontation between two diametrically opposed tendencies on major world issues -- peace, detente and national independence. On the one hand, there is the imperialist policy of strength and dictate, of maintenance and redivision of zones of influence, of the policy of domination -- in one way or another -- of other states. On the other hand, one can see that the peoples that won their independence after World War II, as well as other peoples favour the principles of fully equal rights -- even in the countries pursuing a policy of domination there are powerful forces that stand for a new policy based on respect for independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs.

I could not say that these two tendencies are only due to the fact that there are two military blocs, or two great powers.

The tendency to dominate is a more general characteristic of the current international life, it applies to various circles pursuing to continue the old imperialist policy of strength and dictate; however, these circles are more and more isolated, even in their own countries.

The second tendency I referred to is prevalent, it includes the overwhelming majority of the peoples that declare for an independence and equality policy. It certainly includes socialist countries, but it is a matter of satisfaction that the Third World -- to use a general term -- is, in its entirety, in the group of peoples that oppose the old policy. Moreover, as I have already said it, even in the countries where there are circles promoting the first tendency, vigorous action is taken by realistic political forces that believe it is high time to renounce the old policy and build new international relations.

That is why in considering the development prospects for the international life I think there are real possibilities for a new policy to prevail.

Romania's Proposals for a Cut in Military Spending and the Possibility of Being Adopted

For two consecutive years Romania reduced military spending; for 1983 we decided to keep it to the 1982 level. We made the decision in consideration of the need not to raise problems to the Romanian economy, but then also of the demand to put into practice the proposals repeatedly made by Romania concerning the freezing of military spending to a given year's level and a passage to their reduction.

As concerns the proposal for a 20 per cent cut in the military expenditure of the two blocs, we made it in consideration of the fact that over 80 per cent of the world military spending is accounted for by these groups of states. Therefore, a reduction of military expenditure by the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries would be decisive for the cessation of the arms race and could bring about a passage to real disarmament measures. Our proposal is a declaration in principle, but it also reflects Romania's wish to achieve a passage to the freezing of military expenditure as soon as possible and, eventually, to their reduction.

It is our view that there are real possibilities for such a decision to be made sometime in the future. And we even think that this is not going to be too remote.

Generally speaking, the circles in the East are for a passage to the reduction of military spending. Also in the West there are many circles that want this. That is why the main point is not to see which are more or less favouring it, but to concert the efforts -- made by both sides -- so as to take concrete measures on that line, acceptable to both.

The Need for Intensive, Firm Actions of Stepping Up Disarmament

Even before the Prague meeting of the Warsaw Treaty countries there were common, identical positions between Romania, the Soviet Union and other member countries on the fundamental issues of disarmament, nuclear first of all, of the detente policy.

It is true that Romania laid and lays greater stress on the necessity for intensive, firm action to speed up the passage to disarmament, but its position was the same on the essential aims, and this showed in the documents adopted in Prague. They reflect the common position, the willingness to make tangible steps to pass on to disarmament, nuclear disarmament above all.

It is on this line that fall also the proposals that direct talks should open between Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries to come to a disarmament agreement, and that a pact of non-aggression be concluded by the two military blocs.

For a United, Nuclear-Free Europe

We must ensure collaboration and mutually advantageous cooperation of all states -- duly considering the fact that there are in Europe countries with different social systems -- in order to make a contribution to the economic and social development of each people.

When I say united Europe I do not think of Europe with just one government, I think of a Europe made up of independent states that should join their efforts and cooperate for economic and social progress, to ensure each people's independence and welfare, a Europe free of nuclear weapons, and free of all weapons in the long run.

Romania has been for and backed all proposals for the creation of nuclear-free zones and worked steadily for such a zone to be created in the Balkans. We particularly appreciate Sweden's proposal made not long ago to create a nuclear-free zone in central Europe. Of course, we think it would be good if that zone were as broad as possible: the deeper it went for hundreds of kilometres into each side, the remoter the possibility of a nuclear war. Such a measure could have a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans and another one up in the north as a basis.

The Need for a Close Collaboration Between Eastern and Western Peace Movements and for Informing the Public Opinion on Disarmament Questions

Taking into account the very complex problems, the necessity of halting the siting of intermediate-range missiles in Europe, I believe that the Eastern and Western peace movements must develop in tight collaboration. We must lend a new dimension to this activity since we, the European peoples, are interested that no further missiles are sited, that everything is made for the withdrawal of the existing ones and for their destruction, that action is taken for a Europe free from all nuclear missiles.

As concerns talks about the problems of disarmament on one side of Europe or the other, it is hard to tell whether talk on these problems is more or less open in certain countries, since a lot is talked about disarmament in all the countries of the world, in Europe in particular. A close analysis will reveal that in the socialist countries, too, in their press, in the mass media, in the varied bodies of society, in the Warsaw Treaty the problems of disarmament are debated very extensively and openly. Take for instance the recent Prague meeting, the released declaration mirrors extensively the stands, the wish for everything to be done in the line of disarmament, and the press and the mass media have presented amply the stance of each and every country, the way each state understands to take action on this line.

Unfortunately, sometimes radio and television broadcasts, certain newspapers, either muffle certain proposals and stands related to disarmament, or present them in an unrealistic light while trying to diminish the importance of these proposals, to misinform the public opinion about the stands of one side or another. Considering that the peoples must be well aware of reality and take action while fully informed, I believe there is a need for the press, for the mass media to play a more active role, to inform readers as correctly as possible about the stances of one side or another, in order to contribute to better understanding, to rapprochement of the stands and to educating peoples in the spirit of friendship, of the struggle for disarmament and peace.

The Development of Friendship and Collaboration in the Interests of the European Peoples

After Helsinki, a series of collaboration ventures have developed between Eastern and Western countries, with a positve influence on the policy of detente, on the development of the spirit of confidence. Unfortunately, at present we traverse a rather tense period, when attempts are being made at reducing more and more the post-Helsinki positive achievements, at aggravating the situation and, to a certain extent, even at implanting mistrust among the European peoples. I believe that such activities do not meet the interests of either side, that the interests of the European peoples, just as I have mentioned before, require that everything be made for diminishing mistrust, for developing the spirit of collaboration and friendship, setting out from respect for each country's system.

Of course, problems exist on both sides of Europe; things open to criticism exist on either side. Yet, I believe that we have to do everything to find whatever it is that we have in common, to collaborate for overcoming difficulties emerging at a certain time in one country or another, not for aggravating them. Under no circumstances the problems occurring in one country or another should be used for increasing mistrust and tension; on the contrary, the emergence of difficulties should trigger support for overcoming them.

In a long run, I believe the European peoples are interested in overcoming as soon as possible the present tension and, in my opinion, although slowly, we are heading for such a policy. Yes, we are advancing towards rapprochement, towards development of friendship and collaboration grounded -- I insist -- on the mutual respect for the social system of each country, for each nation's independence. It is precisely a policy grounded on these principles that can help a growing rapprochement among states, a most sustained economic, technical, scientific, and cultural collaboration in view of implementing the policy of peace throughout the world.

Romania's Stand on the Nonaligned Movement

Romania participates in the Nonaligned Movement as an invited guest. However, we have attached great importance to the strengthening of the unity within the Nonaligned Movement, considering that it will help these forces to act more forcefully towards a policy of detente and peace, of settlement of the complex economic issues existing in the world, for a new world economic order.

So I think that the nonaligned countries will induce a certain improvement of the international situation. But, in order to put up pressure on the big powers, sustained activity is needed on the part of all peoples, with the nonaligned countries having an important role.

An equally important role -- and maybe even greater in some directions -- should be played by the European countries, by the countries of the two military blocs. I mean even the peoples in the two military blocs who, by acting solidary with the nonaligned countries, with other states of the world -- will really be able to induce a passage to concrete measures of disarmament and negotiated settlement of the complex issues.

Arguments for a Summit Meeting in Favor of the Developing Countries

Romania considers it necessary that the organization of a developing countries' summit be started. This would make it possible for these countries to elaborate by joint agreement a strategy with regard to the future activity, both in point of a closer collaboration among them and of self-relying socioeconomic development, and in the negotiations with the developed countries. New principles are needed -- that should be elaborated in a coherent conception -- with regard to the new international economic order.

This is the more necessary as the developed countries notoriously meet often enough and elaborate a joint strategy on economic and sometimes even political matters as well as in the domain of international life and they unfortunately do not always give their consideration -- I should say they give very little consideration -- to the developing countries' interests.

That is why the organization of a summit meeting of the developing countries becomes necessary in order to act for the settlement of the grave world economic problems in close collaboration with the developed countries as well.

I have said more than once that I am not for confrontation but for collaboration between these countries, but an equal collaboration that should take account of the need for eradicating underdevelopment and for building a new international economic order.

The sooner this will be done the best the interests will be served of all states, of the cause of socio-economic progress and world peace.

The Principles of Self-Supply and Self-Management in Action

As part of the territorial self-supply and of supply generally, more than 80 percent of the stock of farm foodstuffs for the urban population is ensured through the socialist state trade. What is new about it is that we insist on every locality producing as much as the pedoclimatic conditions in the respective locality or county allow.

We also have been working for some time now, in the spirit of the new mechanism, for increasing the efficiency and ensuring the profitableness of every enterprise. We do it starting from the fact that it is only utmost efficiency and profitableness that allow for the creation of the means needed for general development, for raising the people's living standard. I do not think this might give rise to unemployment, considering that we work for increasing the efficiency, the profitableness and productivity of labor, and starting from the need for continued development of the productive forces and for turning to advantage our society's means.

I might even tell you that at present we have some difficulties in securing the manpower in certain sectors and that we have had to take special steps for its more adequate training and distribution, in order to ensure the needed manpower in every sector for the fulfillment of the development programmes.

It can be said that the Romanian socialist society will ensure ever better material and spiritual living conditions for the whole people and for the continued development of the production forces, of science and culture, for improving the management, for developing the democracy more, starting from the need for the whole people's participation in running all sectors of activity. As a matter of fact, we have developed a broad system of democratic bodies in all socioeconomic units and at a national level as well, which offer equal possibilities to all citizens of the homeland, with no difference whatsoever, to participate in leading and elaborating our home and foreign policy.

Measures for Stimulating Farm Production and for Getting the Peasantry More Interested

As early as the last quinquennium we endorsed a series of measures for reduction of taxes and for stimulating farm production, measures that we improved at the beginning of the present five-year plan, in years 1980-1981.

When we said we must not fear the peasants would get rich we had in mind a growth of incomes derived from the activity carried out in their own farmsteads and from that carried out in cooperative and state units. There are peasants that earn twice as much as the pay of workers. True, these earnings are derived according to productions, since our remuneration system provides that remuneration in cooperatives must mirror the achieved production. Therefore the peasants can get rich not so much due to the private homesteads but merely due to the powerful development of production in the cooperative farms and in the state farms, that have indeed proved to be a superior form of work organization in agriculture.

We act and shall make all efforts for ensuring a highly efficient agriculture, for getting the peasants more interested, for working the land in their ownership under the best of circumstances. This meets both the interests of the peasantry and those of society as a whole.

The Development of Romania's Foreign Economic Exchanges

Romania's relations with CEMA countries have developed constantly. As a matter of fact, Romania is a CEMA founding member. Romania's economic exchanges with CEMA countries, with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have grown all these years. However, we also took action to expand our relation with developing countries, as well as with developed capitalist countries. Nearly 50 percent of Romania's foreign trade is with socialist countries and the major share is held by CEMA countries of which the Soviet Union comes first. More than 25 percent of Romania's economic relations is with developing countries, the rest is with developed capitalist countries. As concerns the developed states, I must say that, unfortunately, we used to import more from them than we exported. Only now have we set to ourselves the task to export more, notwithstanding the difficulties, to balance our trade and payments.

Measures for Improving the Foreign Trade and for Paying Off the Foreign Debt

Romania has indeed a foreign debt to repay and this is due to foreign trade imbalance, to the fact that we imported more from a number countries and exported less to them. Adding to this was the steep rise of interest rates which were known to have exceeded 20 percent at some time, causing problems to Romania, and to all the states of the world.

Under the circumstances, we decided not to resort to credits any longer, to take steps and solve economic and social development problems on our own and, at the same time, gradually to pay back the loans: We have planned to pay off our foreign debt in a number of years. In 1981 and 1982 we managed to reduce our foreign debt. Last year we had an active balance of trade, with a nearly two billion dollars' worth of surplus. We plan to take firm action on that line and we have the conditions -- we not only believe, but also have the conditions -- to achieve this in the next few years.

Of course, we do not think to restrict our international relations. But we wish these relations to be grounded on equality, on balanced trade and payments. We no longer want to import without being sure of what we can export so as to compensate for the necessary imports.

Preoccupations for an Intensive Economic Development

As far as spare parts are concerned, I must tell you that most of them are made at home. With a powerful machine-building industry, we have concentrated our efforts lately on the manufacturing of these parts which we used to import. Only a small percentage of such parts do we continue to import, but we do it on a full compensation basis, that is on the basis of balanced trade, of imports balanced by exports.

On the imports of new plants I must say that many branches have developed to the point of being comparable with those in many developed countries. For Romania the question is to achieve intensive, not extensive development, improve quality, make better use of the raw materials. Romanian science, the industry we have developed and cooperation with other states make our aims attainable, all while purusing the spirit of relations of equality, balanced trade and payments. I could say that in this respect, an important role was and will be played by CEMA cooperation which has always been based on balanced exchanges.

A New Approach to the Theses and Outlooks on Socialist Development Is Required

At the party national conference last December we analysed the current development stage of the Romanian society and the changes worldwide and came to the conclusion that essential changes in the Romanian society had resulted in a development stage that required a new approach to certain theses and ideas concerning socialist development.

In our approach to some development problems of the Romanian society we laid stress on a new quality, on the development of democracy, on the growing involvement of the people in the administration of society, on the fact that socialism in Romania is built by the people for the people. The people is and must always be the true maker of every achievement in Romania. It must also use the benefits of these achievements, shaping its future as it may wish.

We wish this view to extend to international relations as well, so that relations may be set on the basis of equality, respect for independence, sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, each people's right to decide its own system and development free from outside interference. We want that action be taken toward a world free of weapons and wars, a world of peaceful cooperation. It is our belief that the changes that have occurred enable a new, confident approach to our people's future, to the world's prospects.

KING HUSAYN MAKES OFFICIAL VISIT TO BELGRADE

Talks Held

LD181640 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1602 GMT 18 Feb 83

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Feb (TANJUG) -- Official Yugoslav-Jordanian talks began this afternoon in the Palace of the Federation led by Petar Stambolic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and King Husayn ibn Talal of Jordan. Other figures are also taking part.

It has been learned that the predominant topics at the talks are current international problems and bilateral relations. Particular attention will be devoted to the development of the situation in the Middle East, preparations for the forthcoming nonaligned summit in New Delhi and the activities of the nonaligned countries aimed at overcoming crises in international relations and solving the major problems of the world community.

International Situation, Mideast Discussed

LD191001 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2210 GMT 18 Feb 83

[Text] Belgrade, February 18 (TANJUG) -- The straining of international relations is a matter of serious concern to Yugoslavia and Jordan. The straining of relations between the great powers and blocs in recent years contributes to such a state of affairs in the world, Petar Stambolic, president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, and King Husayn of Jordan asserted in their joint communique on the talks they had here Friday.

Stambolic and King Husayn Friday discussed necessary actions by the nonaligned countries to stop the arms race and overcome the hard economic situation that particularly affects the developing countries.

The two sides made an exhaustive exchange of opinions on preparations for the New Delhi nonaligned summit conference. The Nonaligned countries should offer their full support to efforts for solving the Middle East crisis, it was stressed in the talks.

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Jordanian King Husayn informed his host in great detail on the efforts by Jordan and himself in relation to the situation in the Middle East, missions by the 7-nation Arab committee and other initiatives for solving the Palestine problem.

At the talks, particularly discussed were the present initiatives for bridling aggression and expansionist policy of Israel. Stambolic voiced Yugoslavia's full support to the stands reached at the Fes Arab summit.

The Jordanian sovereign and the president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia expressed their concern over the continuing Iraq-Iran war and asserted that an end as urgent as to that war was needed. [sentence as received]

Also discussed at the talks were the Jordanian-Palestinian contacts for the purpose of coordinating their joint stands in order to take a more successful action for the implementation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and to find a solution for the Middle East crisis.

During the Stambolic-Husayn talks, the mutual wish further to develop bilateral cooperation was set out.

It was agreed that, at the forthcoming meeting of the Yugoslav-Jordanian committee, concrete forms of economic cooperation be discussed.

The Stambolic-Husayn exchange of views is assessed here in Belgrade as "very exhaustive" and it is expected to contribute to the further development of good cooperation between the two non-aligned and friendly countries at all levels.

Visit Concludes

LD191454 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1146 GMT 19 Feb 83

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Feb [TANJUG] -- Yugoslav-Jordanian summit talks were concluded this morning at the White Palace. Petar Stambolic, president of the SFRY Presidency and King Husayn of Jordan considered in greater detail questions concerning bilateral relations and cooperation discussed at their first meeting yesterday afternoon.

The meeting was held in a very warm and friendly atmosphere: All questions on the agenda were considered very openly and sincerely. Again discussing bilateral relations, which were assessed as very good, broad possibilities and mutual readiness for further development and promotion of these relations were pointed out as was the fact that King Husayn and President Stambolic would personally strive for future development of these relations. In this context, the Jordanian side very positively assessed the work of Yugoslav enterprises which do business with, or are engaged in projects in Jordan. It was said that Yugoslav businessmen and enterprises enjoy a good reputation among Jordanians. In this connection, King Husayn said: "I will personally strive for further engagements by Yugoslav enterprises in Jordan."

The dominant theme of this morning's talks between Stambolic and Husayn was again the situation in the Middle East. It was emphasized that resolute efforts should be made to begin resolving the Middle East crisis. President Stambolic expressed gratitude for the invitation for the president of the SFRY Presidency to visit Jordan.

Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, and Lieutenant General Sharif Zayid ibn Shakir, supreme commander of the Armed Forces of the Kingdom of Jordan, this morning held separate talks on relations between the two armies and on military-economic cooperation. They informed President Stambolic and King Husayn about their talks.

Marwan al-Qasim, Jordanian foreign minister, also held separate talks with officials of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs with whom he thoroughly discussed the forthcoming summit in New Delhi. On this occasion, great similarity of views was expressed about the main questions, as well as the desire for the success of this conference.

Joint Communique Issued

LD191326 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1207 GMT 19 Feb 83

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Feb (TANJUG) -- King Husayn ibn Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan today concluded his official visit to our country and left Belgrade at midday. At the Belgrade Airport, King Husayn was seen off by Petar Stambolic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and the highest state and military officials.

At the end of the visit, a Yugoslav-Jordanian communique was published which states:

"King Husayn ibn Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan paid an official visit to Yugoslavia on 18-19 February 1983 at the invitation of the SFRY Presidency.

"During his stay in Yugoslavia, King Husayn laid flowers at the grave of President Tito.

"During the talks between Petar Stambolic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and King Husayn of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and their associates, views were exchanged about the possibilities of further promoting bilateral relations and cooperation, especially in the economic field.

"The greatest attention was paid to the topical questions facing the international community, especially the Nonaligned Movement. The two sides exchanged views on the ways and means of overcoming the tense international situation and the threat to peace and security in the world.

"Petar Stambolic, president of the Presidency, informed King Husayn about the international activity of our country and, in this context, about our contacts with some heads of Arab states and leaders of other nonaligned countries.

"On his part, the king of Jordan informed his interlocutors about the results of the Arab summit at Fes and about his talks with the heads of state of some of the permanent members of the UN Security Council within the framework of activity of the seven-member Arab committee. King Husayn informed Petar Stambolic, president of the Presidency, about the talks with U.S. President Reagan in connection with the decisions adopted by the Arab countries at Fes and other initiatives for a peaceful solution of the Middle East crises. The king of Jordan also spoke about the Jordanian dialogue with the PLO.

"During the talks between the president of the SFRY Presidency and King Husayn of Jordan, special attention was paid to the activity of the Nonaligned Movement, especially in light of the preparations for the forthcoming summit in New Delhi. Both sides feel that in the present international conditions it is necessary to make every effort to achieve total success at the New Delhi summit and to strengthen the movement further as an irreplaceable factor in the process of overcoming the tense international situation and the threat to world peace and security.

"Discussing the Middle East situation in light of the latest Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the increased expansion and pressure by Israel, the two sides especially considered the latest peace initiatives and possibilities of achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in this part of the world. It was emphasized that such a solution implies the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war, the achievement of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, as well as the need for the PLO's participation in all talks on the solution of the crisis.

"The two sides especially exchanged views in connection with the Iraqi-Iranian war and the ways to achieve an urgent cessation of this conflict between the two nonaligned countries and to find a solution by peaceful means.

"The talks between King Husayn of Jordan and Petar Stambolic, president of the Presidency, also concerned other questions related to peace and security in the world such as disarmament, the start of global negotiations on a new international economic order, and so on.

"King Husayn of Jordan invited the president of the SFRY Presidency to visit Jordan. The invitation has been accepted with pleasure."

MOJSOV OFFICIAL VISIT TO ITALY CONTINUES

Visits Vatican, Meets With Pope

LD191914 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1418 GMT 19 Feb 83

[Text] Rome, 19 Feb (TANJUG) -- Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs, paid an official visit to the Holy See today.

The important guest from Yugoslavia was received by Pope John Paul II in a private audience and a friendly open conversation was held with him.

Federal Secretary Mojsov then had a meeting with Agostino Casaroli, secretary of state of the Holy See; and Achille Silvestrini, secretary for public affairs of the church.

During these meetings, bilateral relations between the SFRY and the Holy See and important aspects of the present international situation were discussed.

It was stated that important results had been achieved in the development of relations between the SFRY and the Holy See. Mutual readiness was expressed to promote them further. In this connection, it was confirmed that the protocol of June 1966 represented a solid basis.

The relations between the church and the state of Yugoslavia were also discussed. Federal Secretary Mojsov pointed out our consistent respect for the position and activity of the Catholic Church in society in keeping with the Constitution and the law of the SFRY, as well as with the bases of this activity that were adopted in the protocol. He emphasized that this was also our permanent orientation.

In the part of the talks devoted to the international situation, the two sides expressed similar views and assessments of the present dangerous situation in the world. They pointed out numerous negative factors that cause this situation, especially the policy of force and domination, bloc competition, interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries and the unrelenting arms race with the constant presence of the nuclear threat. All of this is intensified by the world economic crisis, which is caused by unjust international economic relations.

Keeping in mind the seriousness and complexity of the international situation, it was emphasized that new efforts should be made by the entire international community to establish stable international relations and independence, sovereignty and security of all peoples and countries; and to solve the key problems of mankind. Both sides pointed out the great importance and positive role of the nonaligned countries movement in this struggle; its contribution to peace and security in the world is increasingly gaining recognition as the best confirmation of the value of the aims and principles for which it struggles.

It was pointed out that detente represented an imperative political necessity and that a persistent and broad engagement was needed for the resumption of this process. In this sense, it is necessary to do everything possible to halt the arms race, to ban nuclear weapons and to eliminate them, especially from the sensitive European area.

In the sphere of international economic relations, it was emphasized that serious global talks represented an inevitable step in the process of changing these relations in keeping with the interests of all countries, both the developed and the developing ones.

The two sides also advocated that all disputes between states and outstanding international problems be solved by negotiations and dialogue -- that is, by peaceful means -- using the mechanisms and principles available through the UN Charter.

In conclusion, proceeding from the active and constructive efforts of the SFRY and the Holy See to achieve peace, international cooperation and understanding, the two sides expressed the wish to continue their international cooperation in the mutual interest and for the benefit of the international community in the future.

Federal Secretary Lazar Mojsov told the Yugoslav correspondents in Rome that he invited Monsignor Achille Silvestrini, secretary for public affairs of the church, to visit Yugoslavia. The federal secretary earlier informed the pope and Cardinal Casaroli about this.

Meets With Slovene Minority

LD180005 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2142 GMT 17 Feb 83

[Text] Rome, February 17 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Lazar Mojsov today stressed the importance which Yugoslavia attaches to its national minorities in neighbouring countries.

In a talk in Rome with representatives of the Slovene minority in Italy, Mojsov said that the minority is an important factor of international cooperation and understanding in the region.

The Slovene minority representative informed him about the problems and position of this Yugoslav national community in Italy.

The need for the Italian side to carry out its obligations stemming from the Osimo agreements in relation to the enactment of a global law on [word indistinct] of the Slovene national minority throughout the [word indistinct] populated by its members was stressed in the talk.

Speaks to Journalists

LD192000 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1621 GMT 19 Feb 83

[Text] Rome, 19 Feb (TANJUG) -- Lazar Mojsov, secretary of foreign affairs, left Rome this afternoon obviously satisfied with his talks and meetings, and also with the business done by him and his associates during the past 3 days. "The relations between Yugoslavia and Italy have received a strong impetus," the federal secretary said to Yugoslav journalists in Rome immediately prior to leaving. He pointed out that the signing of four agreements (on reciprocal recognition of degrees, fishing in the Gulf of Trieste and two on compensation) have removed from the agenda the issues which have been discussed for years, while, as agreed, talks will continue on the remaining questions pertaining to the Osimo complex and others.

Lazar Mojsov stressed that good-neighborly relations between Italy and Yugoslavia were highly developed in all areas." However, good-neighborly relations are like a plant which has to be watered and looked after constantly; which means that one must not surrender to complacency at any point over the fact that these relations as such do exist, but one must constantly make fresh efforts in this regard.

We have agreed -- said Mojsov, assessing the talks he had with his host, Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo -- to develop our cooperation as much as possible.

He said that in addition to what had been achieved previously, it was agreed to set up a joint commission for economic cooperation in the border area and for commodity exchange which will discuss a number of problems in a much more current manner. Talks will be held soon on setting up a joint fishing enterprise.

Referring to the Italian side's criticism about the deposits payable to Yugoslav citizens before traveling abroad, Lazar Mojsov said that to the people he had spoken with, and also during his talks with businessmen, members of the Slovene national minority in Italy, he had explained the situation which led to the implementation of that measure within the context of the implementation of the Yugoslav stabilization program. He said that this measure was temporary and that Yugoslavia would examine its impact.

The federal secretary assessed his talks with Pope John Paul II as a cordial and friendly dialogue. Recalling that the international situation was also discussed during their meeting, Mojsov said that the pope had expressed great interest in the forthcoming New Delhi nonaligned summit. The relations between the Holy See and Yugoslavia, said Mojsov, were also referred to. "We noted that these relations were developing successfully on the basis of the 1966 protocol."

Replying to the pope's individual questions on the problems which appear in church-state relations in Yugoslavia, Lazar Mojsov explained in detail the character of our system, our multinational and multireligious community, and our socialist self-management and brotherhood-unity as the greatest achievement. In his talks with the pope, Mojsov stressed -- as he told journalists -- that "all problems which normally arise can be resolved only through dialogue and joint cooperation, and this was also accepted." The federal secretary stated that he had invited Monsignor Silvestrini, secretary for public affairs of the church, to visit Yugoslavia. Lazar Mojsov had previously informed the pope of this and he also repeated this in his meeting with Cardinal Casaroli, secretary of state of the Holy See.

He also attached great significance to his morning meeting with Edward Sawmah, director-general of FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations], stressing that that meeting had taken place within the context of the well-known cooperation between Yugoslavia and the FAO which is developing very fruitfully. He stressed that FAO pays tribute to Yugoslavia for such successful cooperation. During the meeting, Mojsov and Edward Sawmah examined many possibilities for even greater cooperation between Yugoslavia and this specialized UN agency, in particular, in the sphere of making greater use of Yugoslav experience in agriculture and other fields.

Concludes Visit

LD192015 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service 1719 GMT 19 Feb 83

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Feb (TANJUG) -- Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs, returned to Belgrade this evening following his official visit to Italy where he had talks with Emilio Colombo, head of Italian diplomacy on bilateral and international issues.

During the visit, Mojsov was also received by Sandro Pertini, the president of the Republic of Italy.

At Belgrade airport in Surcin, Lazar Mojsov was welcomed and greeted by Andjelko Blazevic, undersecretary at the Federal Foreign Affairs Secretariat and officials of the Federal Foreign Affairs Secretariat. Carlo Civiletti, charge d'affaires of the Italian Embassy in Yugoslavia, was also at the welcoming ceremony at the airport.

MOJSOV TALKS WITH AUSTRIA'S PAHR SUMMARIZED

LD152336 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1421 GMT 15 Feb 83

[Text] Brdo, near Kranj, 15 Feb (TANJUG) -- Today's brief working meeting between Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary of foreign affairs, and Austrian Foreign Minister Willibald Pahr in Brdo, near Kranj, took place in a very friendly and open atmosphere and confirmed once again the existence of many common views shared by the two neighboring countries, nonaligned Yugoslavia and neutral Austria. The two ministers talked about cooperation between the two countries at the present stage of the Madrid CSCE meeting, the performance of European nonaligned and neutral countries at this meeting and other international issues and the world situation. They also discussed some questions concerning bilateral relations of mutual interest to the two countries.

Lazar Mojsov and Willibald Pahr expressed confidence that the countries participating in the CSCE meeting would bring the Madrid meeting to a successful conclusion, bearing in mind the significance of a continuing dialogue and all-round cooperation of European countries for peace and security on the continent and in the world. They expressed hope that the draft final document jointly submitted by nonaligned and neutral countries would serve as a good basis for the adoption of the final act of the Madrid meeting, which must also reach a decision on convening a conference on measures for strengthening trust, security and disarmament in Europe.

Discussing grave political and economic crises affecting the world today, Federal Secretary Mojsov and Minister Willibald Pahr stressed the significance of all peace-loving initiatives, particularly initiatives and recommendations of the UN, nonaligned, and neutral countries in the world and the forces who jointly struggled for and advocate peace, cooperation and common progress of all nations.

They expressed confidence that the coming summit of nonaligned countries in New Delhi will strongly express the aspirations of a vast section of mankind for peace, justice and equitable cooperation among nations and that the demands of nonaligned countries for an urgent and thorough settlement of international political and economic problems will be heeded. Expressing support for all efforts in the sphere of true disarmament, including nuclear, conventional and other kinds of disarmament, and in the sphere of lowering military potential in Europe, while guaranteeing equal security for all states in the process of disarmament, the ministers stressed the need for a consistent and comprehensive implementation of the recommendations of the first and second special sessions of the UN General Assembly on disarmament.

Assessing positively the development of good-neighborly relations between Yugoslavia and Austria and expressing satisfaction over the results achieved in bilateral cooperation to date, the ministers agreed that there are still unexplored possibilities for its further promotion in all spheres. It is necessary to make joint efforts in building more stable and harmonious economic relations on a long-term basis.

Furthering all-round cooperation in the border area is also very significant. The sides confirmed the significance of introducing and implementing the provisions of Article Seven of the state agreement on improving the position and on comprehensive development of the Slovene and Croatian national minorities in Austria. Yugoslavia and Austria must continue to make efforts on securing rights and protection of Yugoslav citizens temporarily employed in Austria and also of their families. The sides also mentioned the invitation to Austrian Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky to visit our country this year.

After the talks, Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary of foreign affairs, gave a brief statement to the press in which he stressed particularly that today's informal working talk was one in a series of traditional meetings between foreign ministers of our country and Austria.

17 FEB RIBICIC PRESS CONFERENCE REPORTED

LD181503 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1509 GMT 17 Feb 83

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Feb (TANJUG) -- The resolute process of economic and social stabilization, which has been started in Yugoslavia, means further building the system of socialist self-managing democracy and further stabilizing the development of our economy on the basis of the LCY program and the Constitution, linked with a consistent continuation of the present road of socialism, nonalignment, brotherhood, unity and equality of the nations and nationalities. This was emphasized as the basic preoccupation of the League of Communists today by Mitja Ribicic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the press conference for foreign journalists which was held at the "Sava" center in Belgrade. During an almost 3-hour conference, Mitja Ribicic replied to some 50 questions by 22 foreign journalists accredited to Yugoslavia.

Speaking about the topical economic situation in Yugoslavia and the actions of the League of Communists after the 12th LCY Congress, Ribicic said that in spite of difficulties, the unshakable commitment of our nations and nationalities to a united life in Yugoslavia, in the brotherly community created in the national liberation war and revolution, had been confirmed. All our nations and nationalities are more than aware that they can achieve and express their rights and interests only in the socialist, self-managing and nonaligned federal Yugoslavia, Ribicic said in his introductory speech.

The past "congress" year was the year in which economic and other problems were sharply expressed. They were our first congresses without Tito and Kardelj, but they consistently followed their path of struggle for socialism. This policy is now being implemented by the collective work and responsibility of each individual, without the expectation that the problems will be solved by the authority and visionary power of a single leader. Self-management does not prevent the affirmation and creation of an individual's reputation. However, it does not allow for the development of a cult of personality or heavy-handed leadership. The collective work is not a synonym for a 1-year mandate. It has worked well in the organs of the federation (Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and SFRY Presidency) but we are more critical about it at other levels, Ribicic said.

In the implementation of its leading role in society, the League of Communists is today engaged on two basic fronts: the socioeconomic stabilization and development of self-management and also in its own improvement in order to carry out the LCY program and its role in society which is determined by the Constitution. We concluded, Ribicic said, that it is necessary to work much more on the ideological building of the League of Communists as a whole through the process of transforming the party in power into the League of Communists; that is, into the vanguard, the guiding power of the working class in society. Due to preoccupation with economic problems, the ideological front was neglected to a certain extent and now we wish to strengthen it. In this sense, the League of Communists must function democratically -- with the power of arguments and ideas -- in public and in democratic institutions of our society. In this way, it will continue to enjoy the trust of the working people and the nation, he said.

Referring to the measures which have been undertaken to stabilize the economic situation, Ribicic noted that the working class accepted them as necessary to establish conditions for better and more efficacious solutions to problems of self-managing bases in the future.

Regular settling of our liabilities toward our creditors is our orientation and firm commitment. We have been doing this successfully so far and we shall continue doing it in the future, although it will not be easy for us. Nothing will be granted to us, as it was not in the past. We are returning the loans at extremely high interest rates. However, this is an experience which should make us wider in the future.

This strategic orientation, Ribicic said, is based on a reliance on our own force which does not mean, however, that we want to isolate ourselves. On the contrary, we are opening ourselves to the world, but on the basis of criteria of better work. This means using the advantages of our system, common economic operations, and not limiting ourselves to the borders of the republican markets.

Speaking about the phenomena of nationalism and radical criticism of everything that exists, Ribicic said that the League of Communists could not underestimate such tendencies but that it also could not go on with these discussions. This was exhausting public attention and directing social action from really decisive and large socioeconomic problems toward essentially marginal questions. This does not mean that the League of Communists can renounce responsibility for the entire ideological struggle and disposition in society which, due to the pluralism of self-managing interests, normally shows diversity. We firmly believe that the advantages of our political system and further self-managing development can only be validly confirmed by democratic discussion on the broadest pluralist basis of our society, above all, in the SAWP.

Answering the question by Christine von Kohl, correspondent of the Austrian paper DIE PRESSE, on the possibilities of criticism outside the party ranks, Ribicic said that re-orientation of the League of Communists has begun in this field, above all, in the delegate system and in the SAWPY. We started to undertake a mass stabilization movement, a movement of the masses. When we joined these efforts, it was clear that the information media were also on the agenda. In this respect, important sessions were held by the Central Committees of the League of Communists of Serbia and the League of Communists of Croatia and by the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina. We shall shortly also hold the session of the LCY Central Committee on this. I think that the basic direction of our action toward better and more efficacious work, toward pluralism of self-managing interests, so that the voice of the workers -- the base -- and their prevailing mood will find more room in the information media and that the information media will reflect and indicate relations in our society.

We are united as regards our orientation toward exports, Ribicic said in his reply to a question by Aleksandar Lebl, correspondent of the FINANCIAL TIMES. The commitment to increase this year and in the next 2 years our exports to markets with convertible foreign exchange by 20 percent is very difficult, and is being implemented in restrictive and protectionist conditions of the international market. The 7 percent exports achieved at the beginning of the first year of economic stabilization means therefore much more than just the percentage. It is not essential that we increase exports by the entire 20 percent. But it is essential that the whole country is "girded up" in this respect. This is the task which has priority, and we know that unless we achieve it we shall also have to undertake some very drastic measures, even the most extreme -- the rescheduling of debts.

The introduction of coupons was the theme of many of today's questions. According to Ribicic, the introduction of gasoline coupons was justified. Yugoslavia imports more than two-thirds of its oil which is our most expensive purchase abroad. It is likely that we shall soon abandon this measure. Even in the Central Committee we proposed that it should end on 1 March, but I do not believe that we will be able to do it by then.

This is a great burden because we are a tourist country. All other coupons, especially for the goods produced in the country, are, in our opinion, an expression of an overuse of coupons. It would be difficult to say that this is just anarchy. It is a matter of shifting the responsibility of the local factors -- in the municipalities and towns -- who were badly prepared and badly organized as regards supplies to the population. The problem is now being solved in an opportunist manner with coupons. I think that we have to raise the correct questions in this respect. This means that we are against introducing coupons for all other articles and food.

One of the questions by Gustav Chalupa, a correspondent for Austrian radio, referred to the performance of "Golubnjaca" which, he said, on the one hand was awarded a prize and on the other taken off the program of plays. I will not speak about "Golubnjaca," Ribicic said, because I did not see it, and I am against saying something about a performance I have not seen. I have already said that I think that the question about this performance has been given too much dimension and that this is certainly not now the main problem facing Yugoslavia. A work of art, in my view, is certainly progressive if it is artistic and if it is also humane and favors the liberation of humanity and new relations. If it is not such, it will collapse, it will not be supported, or will be only temporarily supported. I think that it is much more important what kind of work it is rather than who the author is. Secondly, if political stances are being adopted, one has also to reckon with the political reaction toward those circles and environments which provoked this reaction. It is clear, for example, that if the St. Sava anthem was sung in Belgrade and Vojvodina, it would cause a different reaction than if it were sung in Slovenia. There are different reactions. This is all I can say. I think though that there is a calmer approach to the matter now, and if this is so then it is deserved.

Answering a question by Dusan Pilic (LA REPUBBLICA of Rome) about the phenomena of nationalism, Ribicic said that economic reasons were not the only reasons for it, but that they did have quite an influence. When we transferred the responsibility for the development from the federation to the republics and provinces, it did not directly reach the associated labor, the workers, but stopped at the republican and provincial level. The link was then created between the republican and provincial political organs and the party organs, management structures and banks, and the decisions about development were taken at this level. Remaining too long at this level has created the class social basis for nationalism and prevented the process of self-managing accords and agreements. It is a situation which we must change. We must clearly state what is nationally positive in line with the national consciousness, and what is nationalistically reactionary.

Jan Hrobar, correspondent of RUDE PRAVO was interested in the rotation of cadres and the 1-year mandate. Ribicic recalled in this context Tito's last political conversation held with the Slovene delegation on 26 December 1979. On that occasion, Ribicic said, Tito pointed out that in his initiative on collective work and the 1-year mandate, the positive experiences of the collective work in the federation, at the party Presidium and the state Presidency should be made use of creatively in every sphere. Tito said -- in every sphere and at all levels. At that time, our society, everybody in his own way, understood this initiative by Tito. Some began to prescribe the 1-year mandate, to prescribe it right down to the local community, even for beekeepers, for old-age pensioners' associations, for all other organizations. I think that what happened in this case was that which we at that time warned Tito about in our talks. We warned him that the 1-year mandate cannot be applied to the Federal Executive Council, that we cannot have a government which changes every year. We said that this would not be applicable to administrative organs, federal and others.

Tito's reaction was: "Well, who taught that anyway, I did not think in that way. Stop these things. It is impossible to have a 1-year mandate, one only just about gets to know things." I think that his warning should be borne in mind. I have also warned about this on Belgrade radio, in a free interpretation of those talks. I think that the 1-year mandate has confirmed this at the highest party body. This is, after all, a kind of equality. This is certainly a good thing. There are also mandates in the world which are shorter than in Yugoslavia -- in the European Parliament, for instance -- it lasts 6 months. It should be borne in mind that we are a society with differences and that we must create equitable relations.

Replying to a question by Leonid Kharkov, correspondent of the Soviet NOVOYE VREMYA about the limit of indebtedness of our country, Ribicic said that there is a unanimous attitude about us no longer incurring debts. We can accept financial credits if they are intended for us to catch our breath, to ease the situation, by bearing in mind the degree of inclusion and the program of paying back debts. The credits and the agreements which we have with the IMF refer to imports of reproduction material, goods, and so forth, but they do not credit indebtedness or investments. In this respect it is clear that we have come to the end of the road because an enormous part of the foreign exchange inflow is being set aside for repayments. In this respect we are also using the surplus which we have in the East, in CEMA, as relief, because there we have a surplus of nearly $1 billion.

Dealing with the question by Peter Hadzi Ristic, correspondent of the London OBSERVER, about the criminal law in connection with the arrest and subsequent release of journalist Ranka Cicak, Ribicic said that he himself took an interest in that case and that he was told that the first verdict was being processed because the decision of a higher court was expected. Secondly, they told me that she was not convicted because of the article she had written but because of propaganda (?which she had) carried out outside her profession. The third reply was that the possibility of defense should be offered to her because the entire example is being made use of as if the trial had been rigged because she had published an affair. I was also interested in this affair. Criminal proceedings were instituted against all of its participants. Therefore, what she had written about, and other journalists had also written about, will end in court. However, I believe that this is a question of trust in our judicial system. I believe that there are no rigged trials in our country. We have never been a society in which Stalinist relapses could take root as part of the system. Do not think that we have not made mistakes.

We have had trials that have been wrong and where we have had to carry out a revision. But Stalinism in our country has never grown as a political system of relations in which the party could, with its leading role, influence these matters. I do not know of a journalist being in court because of an article. We had several examples in the counterrevolutionary wave in Kosovo -- that was counterrevolutionary activity, linked with violence. I believe, he said finally, that the court of the second instance will check all the arguments, all the "pros and cons." Speaking about the criminal law, Ribicic said: In our country fascist propaganda, propaganda that undermines the foundations of our system, stands convicted. We are particularly sensitive to that which causes hatred among people, and chauvinism. There are jurists in our country who are also fighting for the abolishment of the death sentence, who write books about it; there are those who say that it is better not to have court proceedings for such matters; various views are held, and a discussion on this issue is in progress. The more Yugoslavia is democratic, stable, and the more internal relations run along the line of our foreign and internal stability, the less need there will be for any kind of administrative mediation in relations among people and among peoples.

Yugoslavia's foreign policy orientation, its nonaligned policy, its attitude to the great powers and blocs in general, cooperation with individual countries and in particular the LCY's cooperation with numerous parties and progressive movements in the world were also the subject of great attention both in Mitja Ribicic's introductory speech and in his exhaustive replies to many questions by journalists.

Recalling that Yugoslavia's general and long-term foreign political orientation remains the nonaligned policy based on the movement's original principles and on consolidating the nonaligned countries' capabilities for action and for providing joint replies to the basic problems of the world today, the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium said that the movement's vitality has been confirmed on numerous occasions to date and that this gives us the right to expect that the seventh summit in new Delhi will also conclude successfully. Mitja Ribicic said that the Nonaligned Movement is, however, not immune to the contradictions in the world today, which affect the nonaligned countries with particular severity. In Ribicic's words, the Nonaligned Movement as a nonbloc factor suffers constant foreign pressures that usually intensify before nonaligned summits as is also the case now. He mentioned that theories are again appearing about the "natural alliance," or about the Nonaligned Movement as "somebody's reserve." "The attitude of Yugoslavia and of the majority of the movement's members is known. We reject all attempts at reorientating the movement, and as for "reproaches" about equidistance to blocs, we continue to reply that we are against bloc division in general," Ribicic said.

Speaking about the LCY's cooperation with numerous parties and progressive movements in the world, Ribicic said that this is developing successfully with all who are ready for an equitable dialogue and who respect the principles of independence, noninterference, respect for differences, and so forth. In his words the LCY adheres consistently to these principles in bilateral relations and it is, therefore, sensitive to all attempts at multilateral gatherings that aspire to return to "a center" in the workers' and communist movements.

The LCY therefore advocates full respect of the principles of the Berlin conference of European communist parties. Should a proposal about such a gathering be made, the LCY's attitude will be a negative one because we believe that there is nothing new to be said.

Stating that the contradictions of the present international situation cannot by-pass the nonaligned countries either, in his reply to Pavle Yankovitch, LE MONDE correspondent, and to other foreign journalists who asked similar questions about the phenomenon of "local wars" among nonaligned countries, Ribicic recalled the assessment made 25 years ago by Edvard Kardelj in the discussion "Socialism and War" about the possibility of wars even among socialist countries. It was pointed out at that time that it is necessary to look at the causes of these wars, at the basis of which as a rule lies the hegemonism not only of great but also of small countries. Mitja Ribicic mentioned the absurd Iran-Iraq war that only exhausts the potentials of the two nonaligned countries. Speaking about this war, in the context of events in the broader Middle East region, Mitja Ribicic recalled that Yugoslavia has good relations both with Iran and Iraq, and that it advocates an early agreement between the two embattled parties.

In this connection he also mentioned unresolved national questions in many countries of the Near and Middle East region, such as the problem of the Palestinians, the Kurds and others. Replying to an additional question by an IRNA correspondent about the problems of the Kurds and the war between the two Islamic countries, Ribicic stressed that in his assessment the unresolved issue of the Kurdish nation, which does not have its own state, as well as the unresolved issue of Kurdish minorities in the countries in which they live, lies at the bottom of the Kurdish problem.

Foreign correspondents were also interested in "pressures from abroad" to which Yugoslavia is exposed. Recalling that Yugoslavia is a nonaligned European country in this region (the other two are Cyprus and Malta), Ribicic said what is now felt is pressure by dogmatic forces and even by fascist remnants in Europe -- in which domestic traitors are included -- who have lost the war with Hitler but who are now looking for an opportunity to surface again. There is also pressure from neighboring Albania which, in Mitja Ribicic's assessment, is not pressure by the Albanian people but by the existing structure which is waging anti-Yugoslav propaganda from positions of the idea about "Greater Albania." He stressed that Yugoslavia does not equate the Albanian people with Enver Hoxha who is evidently nervous because of the complex internal situation. Hoxha now, as Ribicic said, accuses everybody around him of being Yugoslav spies; before, it was a question of Soviet and Chinese spies. This is not such a major issue for us. Albania cannot threaten Yugoslavia's integrity. However, we must be vigilant and we must bear in mind our country's defense capabilities.

Replying to a question by Vasime Basu [name as received], correspondent of the Indian agency PTI, on whether strengthening economic relations between Yugoslavia and the EEC countries will influence Yugoslavia's relations with developing countries, Ribicic said all the arrangements between Yugoslavia and the developing countries and with international financial institutions are connected exclusively with credits for the import of goods, reproduction material and equipment and they do not influence or disrupt Yugoslavia's relations with developing countries.

Reiterating that Yugoslavia is pursuing an active nonaligned and nonbloc policy, Mitja Ribicic said in reply to a question by Vadim Ardatovskiy, correspondent of the Soviet paper IZVESTIYA, concerning differences between blocs that behind the blocs are enormous military, economic and financial forces.

Therefore, Ribicic said, Yugoslavia supports in each of the blocs those actions which lead to negotiations, cooperation and peace. It will therefore advocate at the summit in New Delhi, not the condemnation of blocs nor of their "sins," but rather, it will advocate that the blocs begin, with the responsibility of the powerful, to resolve major problems of the world and to overcome antagonisms becuase peace is universal and cannot be merely the responsibility of great powers.

Further on Press Conference

AU172040 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Feb 83

[Zivojin Jerotijevic and Branislav Canak report on press conference by Mitja Ribicic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, given for foreign journalists accredited to Yugoslavia in the Belgrade Sava Center on 17 February]

[Excerpts] The first question dealt with the role of public information media in our society within the context of a democratization of the political life in our country. Stressing that the aim of current discussions is to eliminate everything from the press that is conservative and not in line with our society and social progress, Mitja Ribicic said:

[Begin recording] Everything that is present in the League of Communists, all these things are also present in the press; and everything that is present in our society is present in our press. We cannot have a difficult economic situation and symptoms of an economic crisis and at the same time some kind of blessing in our economic situation. We cannot demand, in a situation in which there are certain deviations in our economic situation and in which we fail to halt consumption, that the press praise as through everything were going well, as through the resolution were being implemented and such things.

In this respect, our press is really socialist, progressive, pluralistic -- it is close to the truth. Our press is rather well connected and I believe that for the most part we are satisfied with the situation in our press. [end recording]

Speaking about other pressures on Yugoslavia, Mitja Ribicic added: [Begin recording] We believe that it is positive that we have good relations with all big powers, with the United States, the Soviet Union, the PRC, the developed European countries and that, in this respect, our position is rather good as regards the continuity of both our nonaligned position as well as our stability in this world. Thus these pressures are more or less outside the policy of governments and of the most responsible people and are more attempts than something aimed at success. [end recording]

In reply to the question of why the political forums condemned a number of authors of political articles, Mitja Ribicic said: [begin recording] I believe that no one condemned any artistic works, but rather what was condemned were, as I have said earlier, the authors of certain artistic works because of their political positions, which were along the lines of either state socialism or some kind of old Yugoslav model which would liquidate nations, which would create a unified Yugoslav nation, or along the lines of a political pluralism in our relations because certain people are not satisfied with the self-managing pluralism of interests and so forth and with other forms of our self-managing democracy. [end recording]

Mitja Ribicic was then asked to explain the statement he made in the monitor program on the existence of the slogan "Self-management without Communists" and to say whether this is only a slogan or a tendency.

[Begin recording] In certain articles it has been stated that the League of Communists should also give up its leading role in democratic social decisionmaking. I had in mind these articles and these things, these phenomena have no broader implications, but I believe that nationalism which is now increasing -- not just in Kosovo but in all circles -- is also spreading certain ideologies, theses of a new approach, a nonprogrammatic approach to the further development of our society. [end recording]

Within the context of the current socioeconomic and political situation in our country, Mitja Ribicic also replied to questions on responsibility, the causes of nationalism, on the relationship between the national and international factor within Yugoslavia and wider afield, on the discussions concerning a nonselective application of the 1-year term of office and, among other things, also set forth his views on the limit of Yugoslavia's indebtedness.

At the press conference with foreign journalists accredited to Yugoslavia, Mitja Ribicic, president of the LCY Central Committee presidium, also replied to certain other questions dealing with trends in international relations, Yugoslavia's position in the international arena and, in this connection, spoke about problems of disarmament, detente, the preparations for the forthcoming summit conference of the nonaligned countries in New Delhi and about certain problems pertaining to relations in the international workers and communists movement.